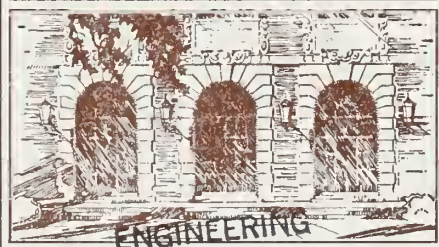


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THREE PAPERS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
ASPECTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF
CHICAGO

By

Charles M. Christian

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OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO

by

Charles M. Christian*

Center for Advanced Computation
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Urbana, Illinois 61801

This research was supported in part by the Center for Advanced Computation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois; by the Mayor's Committee for Economic and Cultural Development; and, the Southern Fellowships Fund.

*Part III written by Charles M. Christian and Sari J. Bennett.

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PREFACE

The black community of Chicago is one of the most dynamic and interesting study areas for numerous social scientists. Frazier, Duncan and Duncan, Taeuber and Taeuber, Freedman, Romanov, and other social scientists have examined this area at different times and with different perspectives. However, these studies have not been integrated to develop any cohesiveness for policy implications. Although this paper does not completely fulfill this notion of cohesiveness, it does provide a platform for policy making and implementation--broader than many previous segregated works.

Three papers are included concerning the black community of Chicago:

- 1) selected social and economic characteristics of the black community and their spatial patterns and changes from 1950 to 1960;
- 2) the occupational profile of a selected portion of the black community of Chicago as compared with the total city and the nation for 1950 and 1960; and
- 3) recent trends of the relocation of manufacturing from the black community of Chicago, 1969 through 1971.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PART I:

SOCIAL AREAS AND SPATIAL CHANGE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO: 1950-1960

by

Charles M. Christian

ABSTRACT

Factor analysis, social change analysis, and factor congruence analysis were applied to the black community of Chicago for 1950 and 1960 to derive indices of social structure and spatial changes over time for the black population. Derived basic dimensions of the social structure for the black population of Chicago are found to be similar to previous studies of applied factor analysis for entire metropolitan areas; however, spatial patterns of social structure for blacks are quite dissimilar to those presented in previous similar studies of metropolitan areas. In essence, this paper shows that for both 1950 and 1960, economic status in the black community is concentric while family structure is sectorial in reference to the entire city. Social change analysis uncovered aspects of change dimensions occurring spatially within the black community; population, income, family, unskilled employment, housing, and in-migration dimensions explained the greatest proportion of variance. A factor congruence analysis suggests no great changes in the social structure for the two time periods. These analyses reveal several processes which may explain social and spatial structure: (1) urban renewal and public housing influences economic and family structure; (2) city-wide discrimination affects housing choice, employment, and mobility within the entire city; (3) variations in the invasion-succession process determines housing availability for blacks; and (4) the migration of diverse social and economic attributes responds to housing availability in the core areas, as well as to the entire metropolitan area.

INTRODUCTION

Population growth in urban areas is accompanied by changes in social and spatial form. The analytical approach used most often by geographers to delimit the urban structure has been a factor analytic model (King, 1969), which is an extension of the social area model formulated by Shevky and Bell (1955). This model is based upon three independent dimensions (economic status, family status, and ethnic status) that characterize and differentiate the urban structure (Shevky and Bell, 1955; Bell, 1959). A review of the literature reveals that factor analytic models have rarely been applied to the black community to ascertain its internal structure within the central city (Frazier, 1932; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; and Frueh and Lewis, 1971).

Recently, black urban communities have increased significantly in population -- both in absolute number, and as a percentage of the total population within the central city. Increasing numbers of blacks and decreasing numbers of whites in central cities have had a profound effect on the social, economic, and spatial structure of urban areas, and more specifically, on the black community. Recognizing that discrimination, prejudice, low income, and other constraints on black residential choice still exist within the urban environment, the question remains: what is the internal social and spatial structure of the black community? Furthermore, how has the internal structure of the black community changed over time?

PURPOSE

Specifically, three questions are to be investigated in this study: (1) are the **dimensions** and the spatial patterns of the internal structure of "black Chicago" similar to those derived in previous factorial ecology studies of entire metropolitan areas? (2) are the temporal dimensions and resultant spatial patterns of the black community similar to those

derived in previous social change studies? and (3) what possible implications for uncovering broader structural and spatial processes can be obtained from this study of the black community of Chicago?

STUDY AREA

Population Trends

The rapid increase of in-migration of the nonwhite population to Chicago, noted between 1940 and 1950, continued during the 1950s. Ninety-seven percent of the nonwhite resident population in Chicago for both 1950 and 1960 were black residents (Chicago Urban League, 1965); therefore, the non-white population is referred to as black throughout this paper. The black population of Chicago increased 80.5 percent between 1940 and 1950, it increased an **estimated** 24.3 percent to a total of more than 633,000 (Romanow, 1959). In the ten-year period from 1950 to 1960, the black population in Chicago increased by more than 64 percent from an absolute population of 509,000 to over 812,000 (United States Census of Population, 1950 and 1960). A number of metropolitan Chicago suburbs are also experiencing a high rate of increase in black population. The black population in the metropolitan suburbs increased almost 100 percent from 1950 through 1960, from an absolute population of 44,958 to 82,345 (Illinois Commission on Human Relations, 1962).

The central city of Chicago is not atypical in having experienced a substantial increase in nonwhite population and a decrease in its white population. Census data confirm that other large central cities such as New York, Detroit, and Baltimore are experiencing similar population changes.


Delimitation of Study Area


The study area within Chicago is composed of those census tracts containing 250 or more nonwhites in 1950, and 400 or more nonwhites in 1960 according to the United States Census of Population statistics. Map 1

MAP 1

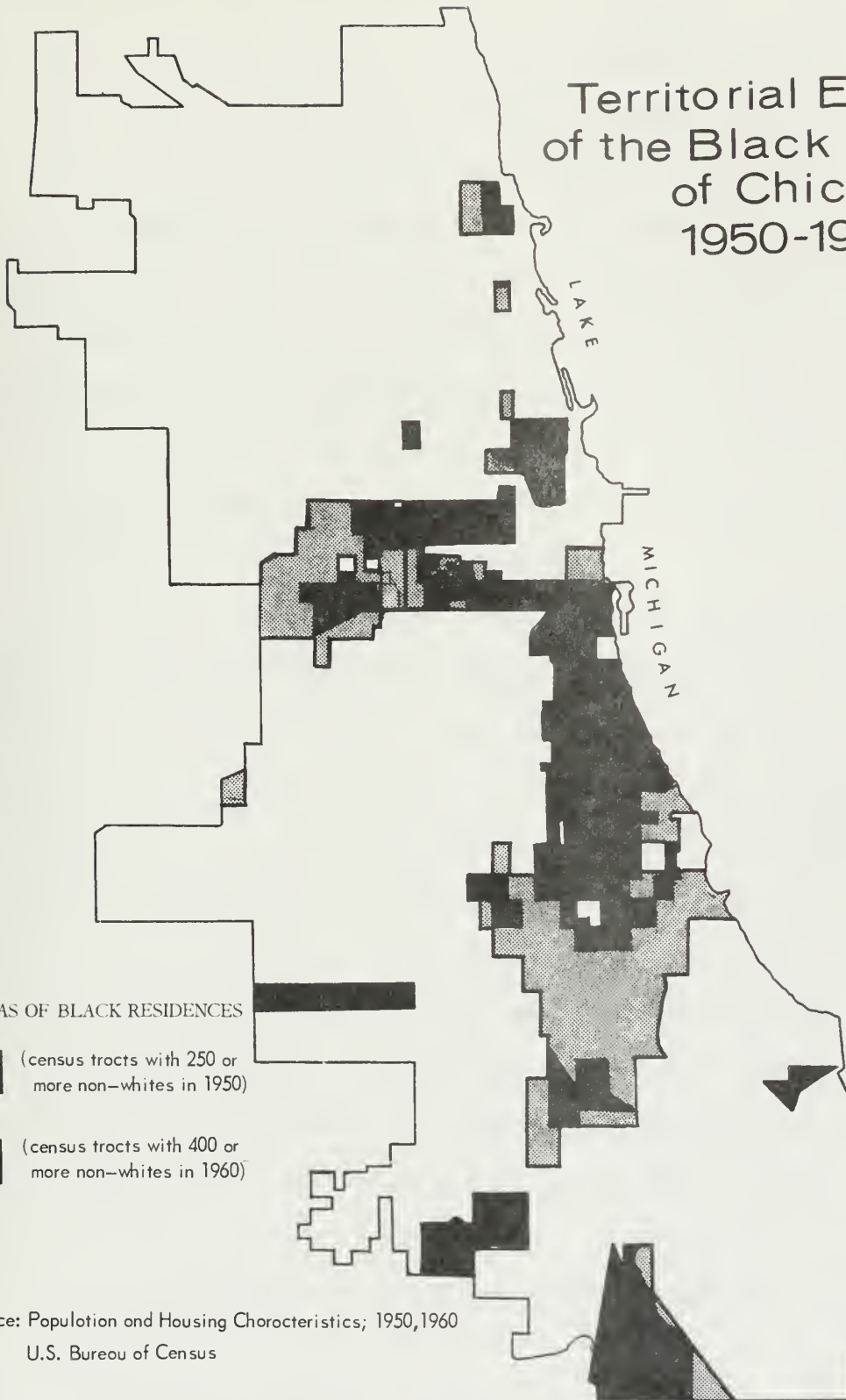
Territorial Expansion of the Black Community of Chicago 1950-1960

AREAS OF BLACK RESIDENCES

 (census tracts with 250 or more non-whites in 1950)

 (census tracts with 400 or more non-whites in 1960)

Source: Population and Housing Characteristics; 1950, 1960
U.S. Bureau of Census



indicates territorial expansion of the black community between 1950 and 1960.

Data utilized in the analyses consist of twenty-one socioeconomic variables for the black community of Chicago taken from the Census of Population for 1950 and 1960. With minor exceptions, the variables are identical for both census periods.¹ These variables were selected to provide a general and efficient profile of the socioeconomic characteristics of the study area (Table 1). Observations include 173 census tracts for 1950 and 229 census tracts for 1960. Census tracts were excluded from the study area and subsequently from the analysis if they did not contain both demographic and housing characteristics for 1950 and for 1960.

METHODOLOGY

Four basic analyses were performed: factor analysis for the black community in 1950; factor analysis for the black community in 1960; a factor congruence analysis for 1950 and 1960 factor structures; and an analysis of social area change between 1950 and 1960 as measured by the percent change in each of the twenty-one variables for 125 census tracts. Only the 125 census tracts that were comparable in both 1950 and 1960 were used in the social area change analysis.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, 1950

Principal components factor analysis applied to census tracts within the black community of Chicago for 1950 yielded five basic factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00, which account for approximately 67 percent of the total variance (Table 1). Factor loadings greater than +.5 or less than -.5 are considered in the definition and description of the factors.

¹In the 1950 analysis variables eighteen and nineteen are based on persons one-year old and older moving inside the county and across county boundaries, while variables eighteen and nineteen for the 1960 analysis are based on persons five years and older moving inside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) and across SMSA boundaries.

TABLE 1 -- ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX, 1950

-5-

VARIABLES	Communi- nalties	F A C T O R S				
		I	II	III	IV	V
2. Median income	.847	0.837				
20. Percent of the dwellings sound	.770	0.824				
1. Percent families with incomes under \$2,000	.835	-0.817				
5. Median school years	.734	0.725				
3. Percent dwellings with 1.01 or more/room	.723	-0.735				
4. Percent dwellings owner occupied	.642	0.711				
11. Percent labor force employed as prof.-mgrs.	.775	0.656				
17. Percent families with incomes over \$7,000	.494	0.632				
15. Percent of the labor force unemployed	.395	-0.501				
21. Percent of blacks in tracts	.771	-0.808				
8. Total black population	.659	-0.723				
18. Moved to different house from inside county	.603	0.705				
19. Moved to different house from outside county	.591	0.658				
6. Population per household	.823			-0.874		
9. Percent population under eighteen years of age	.835			-0.767		
13. Percent labor force employed as laborers	.570			-0.604		
12. Percent labor force employed as craftsmen and operatives	.579				0.726	
10. Percent population over sixty-five years of age	.762				-0.717	
7. Percent households with married head	.610				0.554	
16. Percent females in the labor force	.772					0.823
14. Percent labor force employed as private household workers	.433					0.572
Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance		0.268	0.417	0.542	0.615	0.677
Eigenvalues		5.63	3.13	2.62	1.54	1.30
FACTOR	I	Economic Status				
	II	Mobility-Segregation Structure				
	III	Family Structure				
	IV	Craftsmen-Operatives Status				
	V	Female Employment Status				

Factor I: Economic Status

The first factor derived is "economic status", accounting for twenty-six percent of the total variance, and is characterized by high positive loadings with median income, percentage owner occupied dwellings, median education, percentage of professional and managerial employees in the labor force, percentage of the sound housing, and percentage of the population with incomes over \$7,000. High negative loadings on this factor include percentage of families with incomes under \$2,000, percentage dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room, and percentage of the labor force unemployed.

Economic status changes from low to high as distance increases from the central city (Fig. 1a). Low economic status is almost totally contained within a three mile radius of the Central Business District (CBD), while highest economic status of blacks within the city occurs beyond the six mile radius of the CBD. Nucleated high economic status settlements are found at greater distance beyond more concentrated black residential areas.

Factor II: Mobility-Segregation Structure

The second factor extracted is designated "mobility-segregation," and accounts for approximately 15 percent of the total variation. This factor is characterized by high positive loadings for change in residence from inside and outside the county, and high negative loadings for percent of blacks in tracts and total black population.

Census tracts with high positive scores on this factor are characterized by a low number and low proportion of blacks, and a high proportion of black in-migrants from both inside and outside the county. These tracts are relatively new frontiers of an expanding black community, and tend to be on the fringes of the black community (Fig. 1b). Conversely, high negative scores identify census tracts of high black population density and low percentage black in-migration from either inside or outside the county.

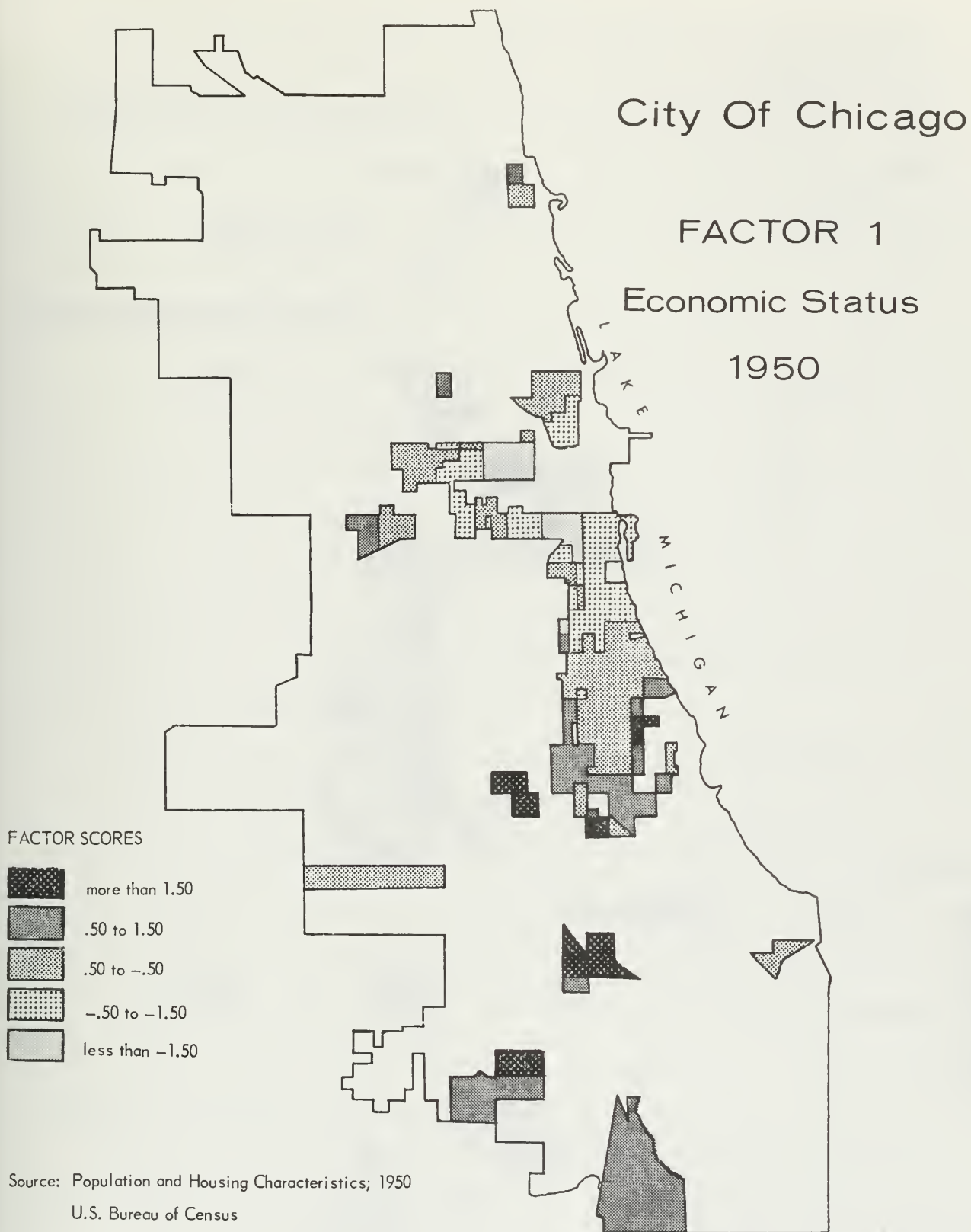


FIGURE 1b

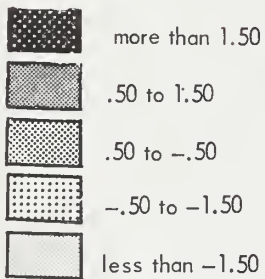
City Of Chicago

FACTOR 2

Mobility-Segregation

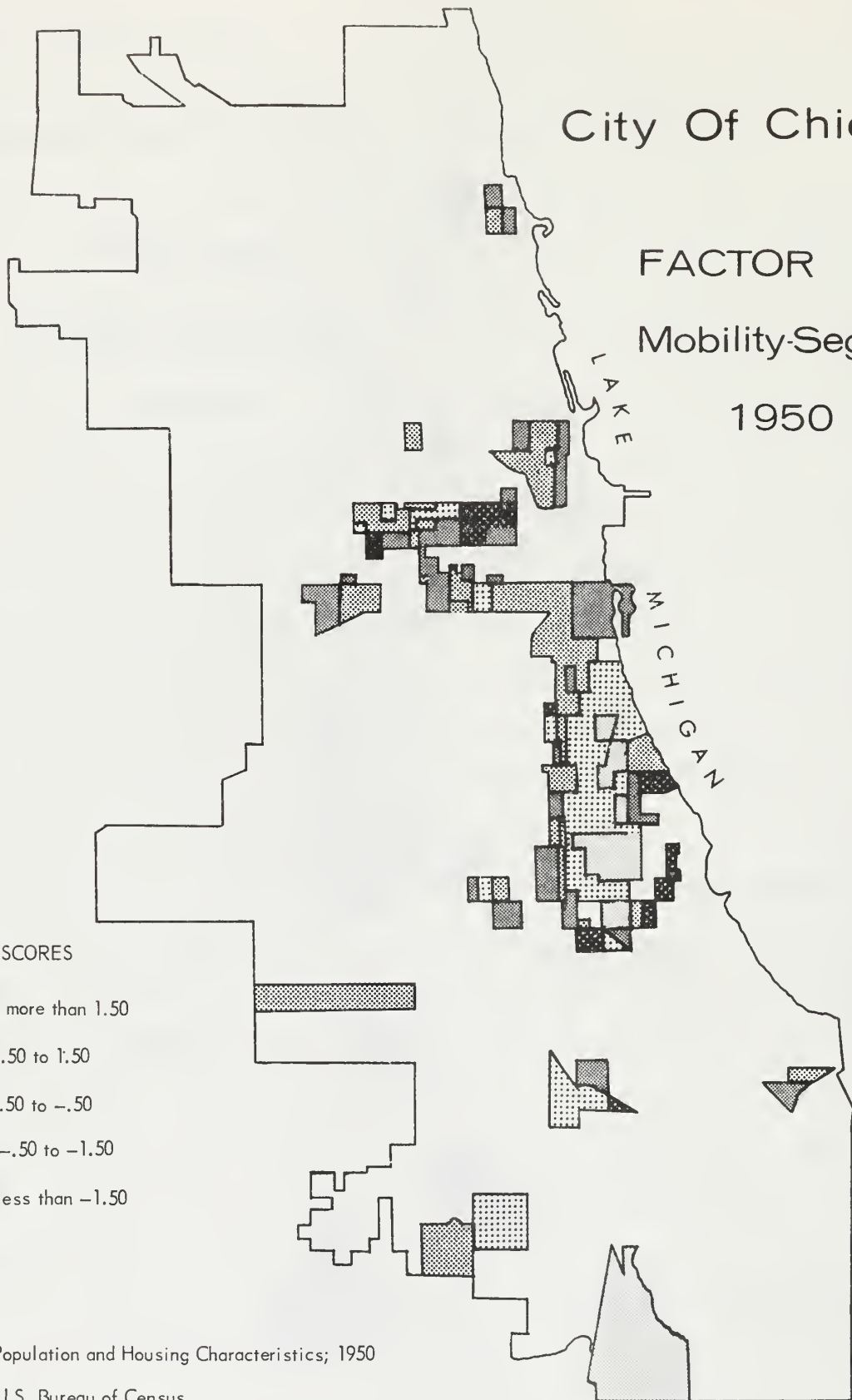
1950

FACTOR SCORES



Source: Population and Housing Characteristics; 1950

U.S. Bureau of Census



The fact that the mobility and density variables loaded together to make up this factor suggests an invasion-succession process. This concept is further solidified by the pattern of "mobility-segregation" (Fig. 1b), as high density and low in-migration are found at the center of the southern and western populated areas, and lower densities and high in-migration increase with distance from these centers.

Factor III: Family Structure

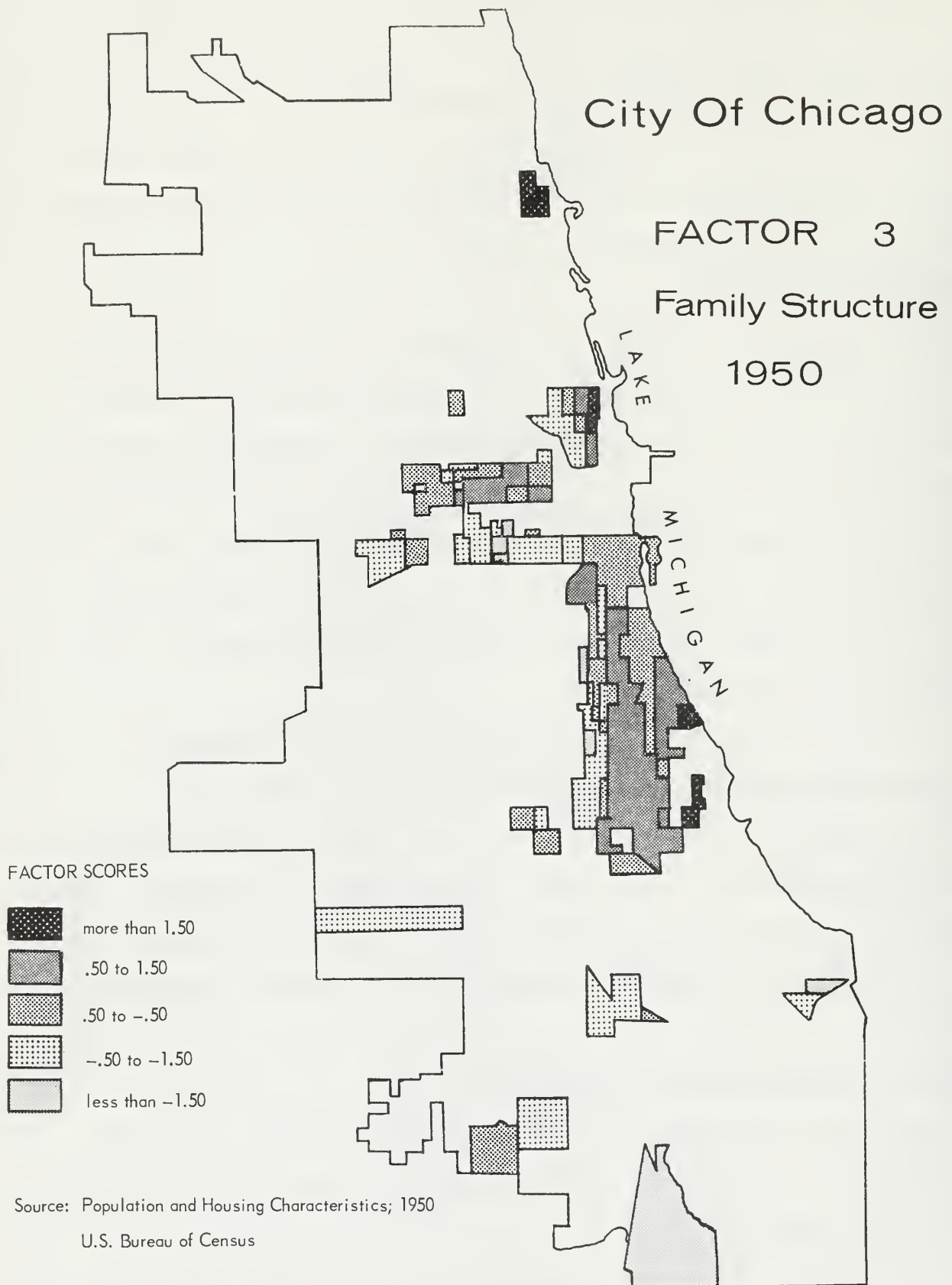
Family structure, the third factor extracted by the principal components analysis, accounts for slightly more than 12 percent of the total variation. Family structure within the black community for 1950 is characterized by high factor loadings with population per household, percent population under eighteen years of age, and percent of the labor force employed as laborers (Table 1). High positive scores indicate few people per household, few children under eighteen years of age living in the household, and a small proportion of the labor force employed as laborers.

A sector pattern of family structure appears to be quite distinct in the southern and western portions of the black community (Fig. 1c). A somewhat similar sectorial pattern is found in the small cluster settlements in the northern black residential areas. In the southern and northern portions of the black community, family structure is found sectorially distributed in a north-south manner with family size generally increasing with distance from the lake front.

Factor IV: Craftsmen-Operative Structure

Factor IV is characterized by high loadings of percentage of the labor force employed as craftsmen and operatives, plus percentage of the population over sixty-five years of age.

Positive scores on this factor identify census tracts which have a small proportion of the population over sixty-five years of age and a high proportion of the population employed as craftsmen and operatives. Negative factor



scores distinguish census tracts which have the opposite characteristics.

There appears to be no clear spatial pattern to this factor; both high and low factor scores tend to be distributed throughout southern and western communities; factor scores were therefore not mapped.

Factor V: Female Employment Structure

This factor is principally related to percentage of females in the labor force and accounts for 6 percent of the total variation. Since no clear identifiable spatial pattern emerged, this factor was not mapped. However, it was found that lower proportions of females participating in the labor force are found in the northern and upper western black settlements than the lower western and southern portions of the black community.

Summary

A review of the factors and resulting spatial patterns for 1950 indicates that: (1) the factors extracted for the black community are similar to those derived by previous studies of applied factor models to entire metropolitan areas; economic status and family structure factors (Berry and Horton, 1970; Roseman, Christian, and Bullamore, 1972; Frueh and Lewis, 1971); (2) the Mobility-Segregation factor was extracted as the second most important factor of social structure in the black community; this factor suggests that the black community is continuously expanding as a result of migration from both inside and outside the county; (3) factors IV and V (Craftsmen and Operatives, and Female Employment Structures) are similar to factors derived by Murdie (1969) in his analysis of Toronto.

The spatial patterns derived from mapping the factor scores reveal some dissimilarities with previously documented patterns of factors within metropolitan areas. Economic status within the black community of Chicago (Frazier, 1932). Previous factor analytic studies of metropolitan areas have documented economic status as displaying sectorial patterns (Hoyt, 1939; Shevky and Bell, 1955); Anderson (1961) suggests that the sectorial growth

pattern in the black communities is an indication of maturity, whereas prematurity is characterized by a more concentric pattern. There is no doubt that the sectorial growth patterns are the result of constraints which inhibit black residential choice, thereby solidifying the notion that the invasion-succession process is in effect within the black community.

Also, family structure has sectorial tendencies within the western and southern portions of the black community. Hence, it is in contrast with the typical concentric pattern for family structure dimension derived in analyses of entire cities.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, 1960

The total population of Chicago decreased almost 2 percent between 1950 and 1960, while the black population increased approximately 65 percent during the same period (Kitagawa and Taeuber, 1963). Although out-migration of both whites and blacks to the suburbs occurred, a larger percentage of the black population continued to settle in the city, suggesting that the city's growth patterns and structure may have been seriously altered by these population changes.

The principal components analysis of 1960 census data again derived five basic factors to differentiate and describe the social structure of the black community (Table 2). These five factors account for approximately 69 percent of the total variance, a percentage similar to the 67 percent explained variation in 1950 (Table 1).

Factor I: Economic Status

Economic status for the black community of Chicago for 1960 has high positive loadings of median income, percent of households with married heads, percent of families with incomes over \$7,000, owner occupied dwellings, median education, and dwellings sound. High negative loadings were percent

TABLE 2 -- ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX, 1960

VARIABLES	Communi- nalities	F A C T O R S				
		I	II	III	IV	V
2. Median income	.902	0.927				
7. Percent of households with married heads	.869	0.855				
17. Percent of families with incomes over \$7000	.810	0.837				
4. Percent of dwellings owner occupied	.629	0.786				
1. Percent of families with incomes under \$2000	.613	-0.727				
5. Median school years	.802	0.707				
15. Percent of the labor force unemployed	.352	-0.569				
20. Percent of dwellings sound	.679	0.557				
18. Moved to different house from inside SMSA	.479					
9. Percent of population under 18 years of age	.892	0.923				
6. Population per household	.860	0.882				
3. Percent of dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room						
10. Percent of population over 65 years of age	.880	0.780				
16. Percent of females in the labor force	.812	-0.607			-0.598	
13. Percent of labor force employed as laborers	.675	-0.585				
21. Percent of blacks in tracts	.484					
8. Total black population	.750				-0.831	
14. Percent of labor force employed as private household workers					-0.631	
11. Percent of labor force employed as professionals and managers					-0.574	
19. Moved to different house from outside SMSA	.444					
12. Percent of labor force employed as craftsmen and operatives	.697				0.782	
	.639					0.704
Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance Eigenvalues		0.305	0.479	0.567	0.634	0.691
		6.41	3.64	1.86	1.40	1.21

of families with incomes under \$2,000, and percent of the labor force unemployed. Factor I accounts for 30.5 percent of the total variation.

The economic status pattern for 1960 is almost identical to the 1950 economic status pattern (both increasing with distance from the CBD); however, each level of economic status has undergone some real expansion (Fig. 2a).

Factor II: Family Structure

In 1960, the second most important factor is that of family structure, explaining 17 percent of the total variance, and comprising the percentage of population under eighteen years of age, population per household, percentage of dwellings with 1.01 or more with 1.01 or more persons per room, and percentage of the labor force employed as laborers.

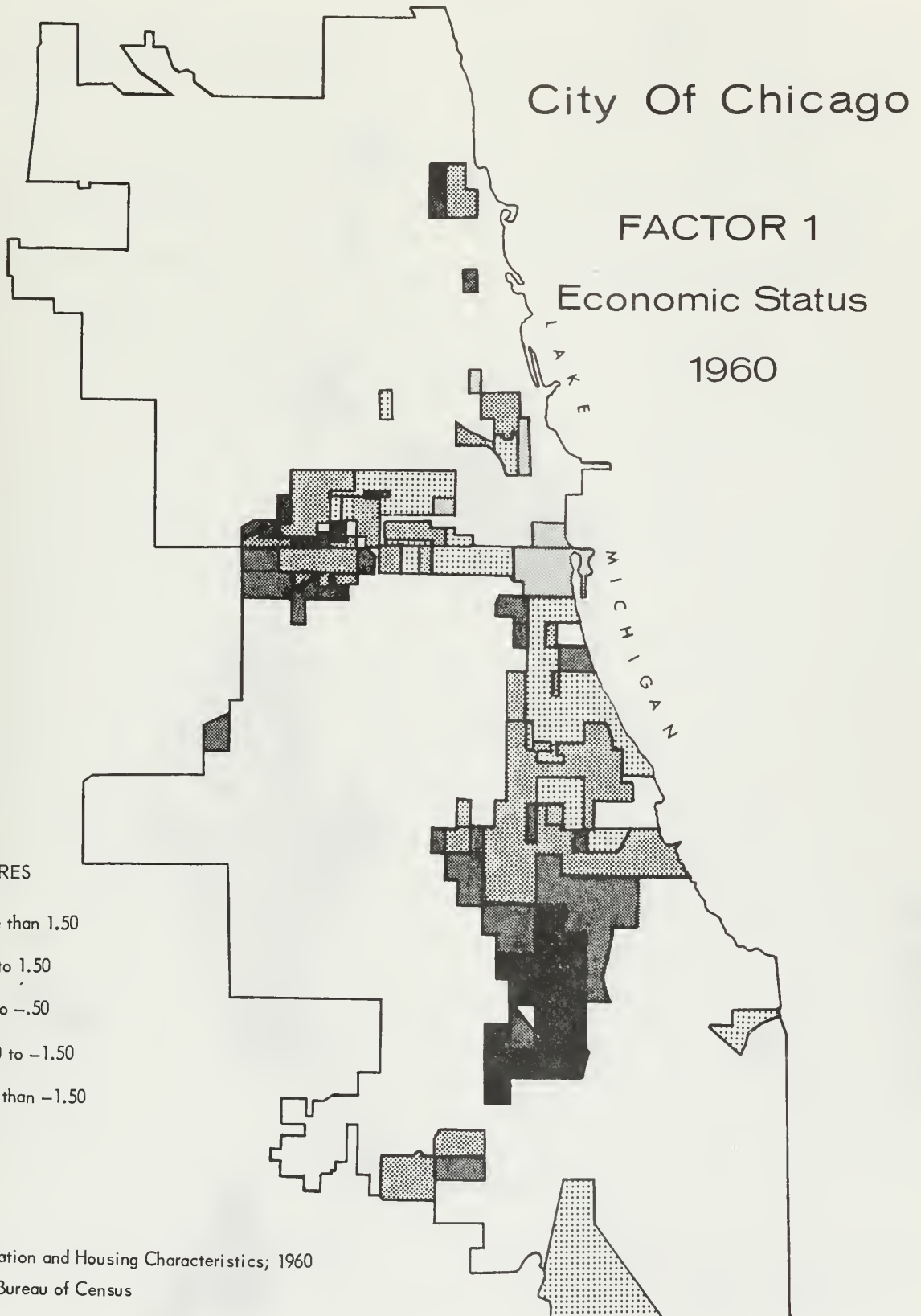
The family structure pattern appears to be similar to the family structure pattern derived for 1950 -- small size families sectorially distributed, with larger size families located along the inner portions of these residential areas (Fig. 2b).

The patterns for family structure are quite different from the "family status" patterns found in previous studies of entire metropolitan areas (Sweetser, 1962; Rees, 1969; Brown and Horton, 1969; and Berry and Horton, 1970). Further research shows that urban renewal and open housing have attracted and relocated large size families to the fringes of the black community. In almost all areas of large size families (high family structure), there is some type of urban renewal, primarily public housing (Chicago Urban League, 1957). In essence, it appears that family structure patterns within the black community are, to a large extent, the results of political policy-making decisions rather than individual residential choices.

Factor III: Segregation

The segregation factor accounts for approximately 10 percent of the total variance. This factor is identified by high loadings of percent of black population in census tracts, total black population, and percent of

FIGURE 2a



Source: Population and Housing Characteristics; 1960
U.S. Bureau of Census

FIGURE 2b

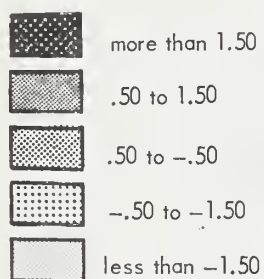
City Of Chicago

FACTOR 2

Family Structure

1960

FACTOR SCORES



Source: Population and housing characteristics; 1960
U.S. Bureau of Census

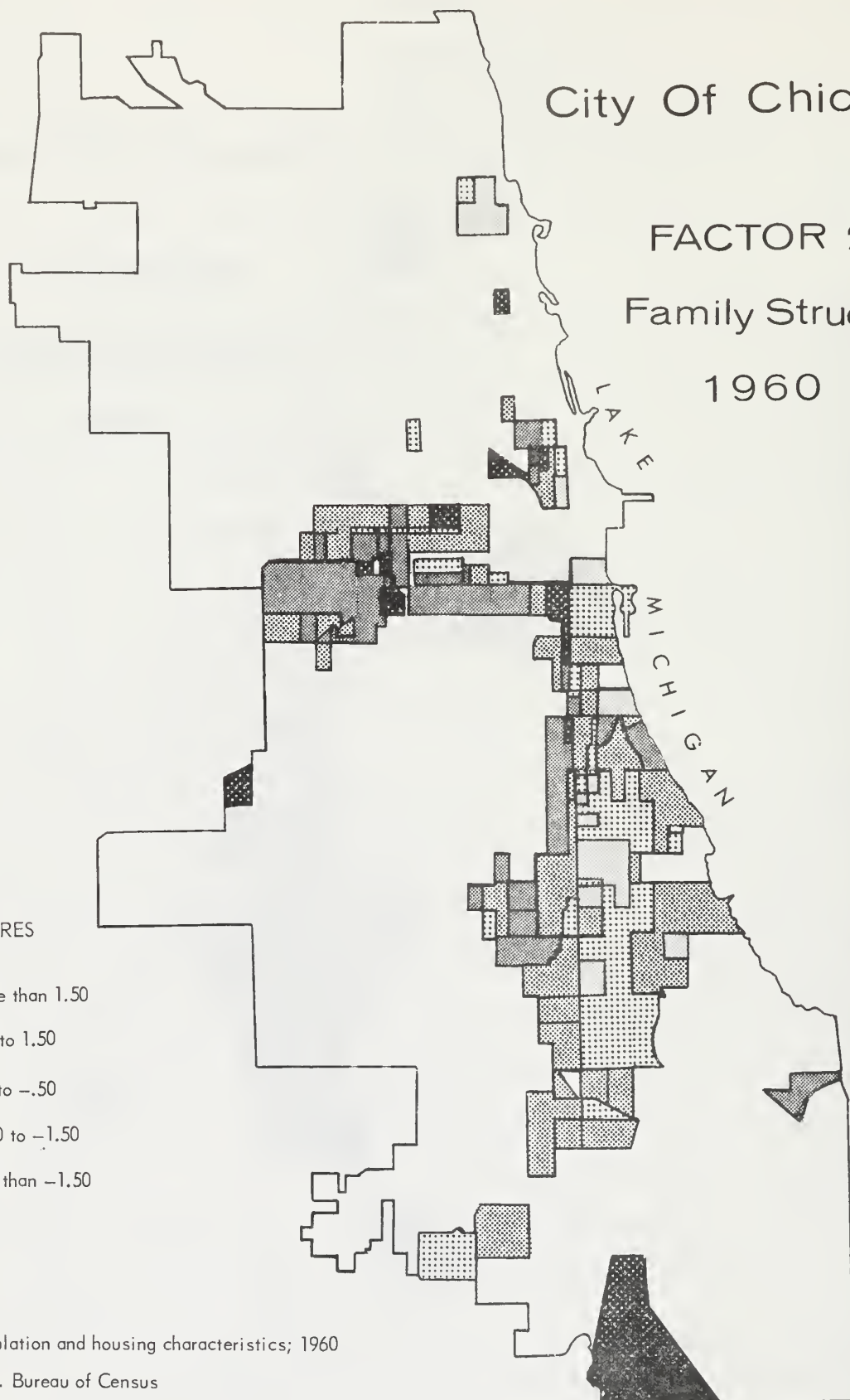
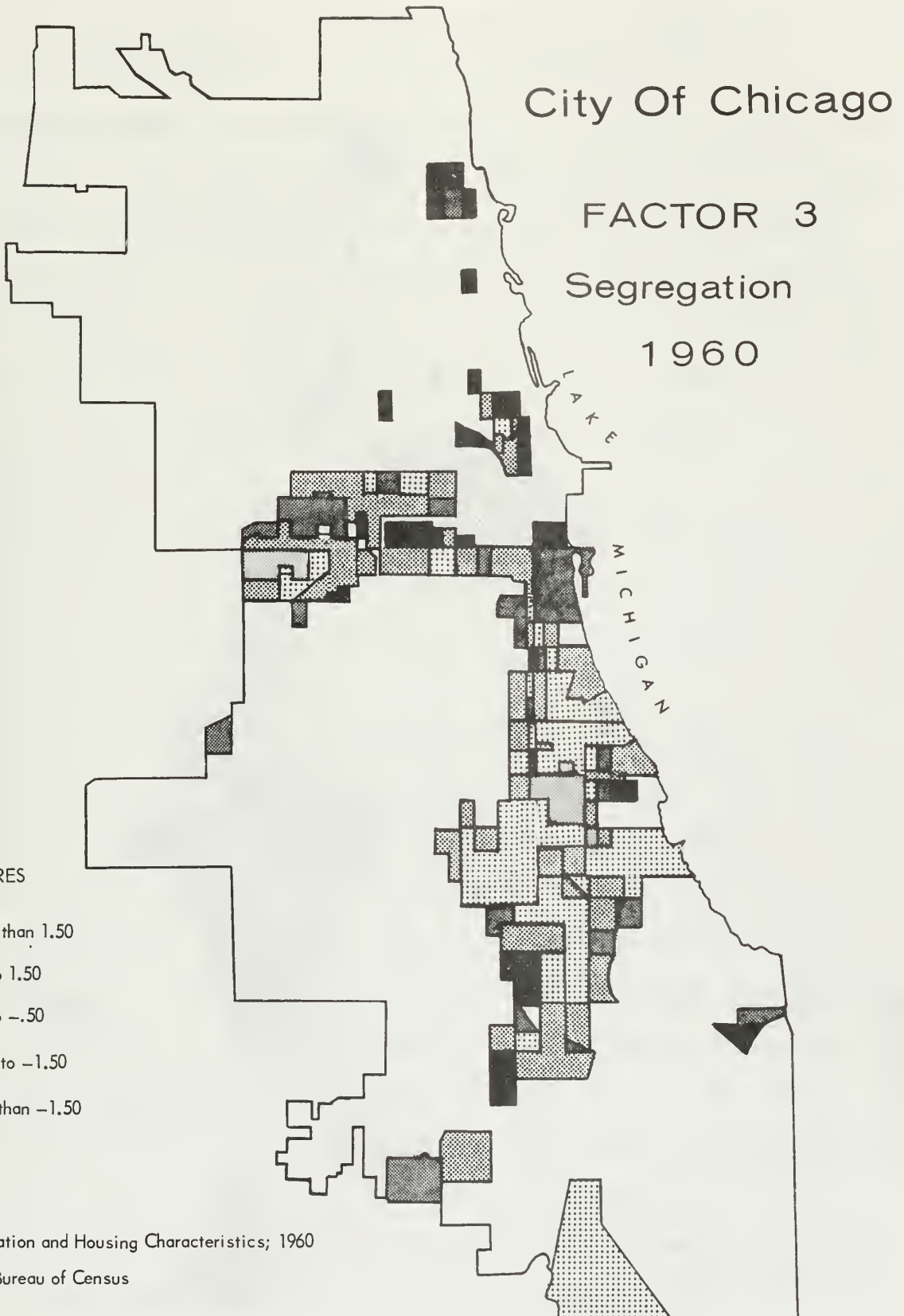


FIGURE 2c



Source: Population and Housing Characteristics; 1960

U.S. Bureau of Census

FIGURE 2d

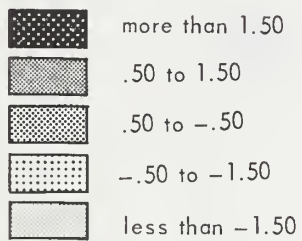
City Of Chicago

FACTOR 4

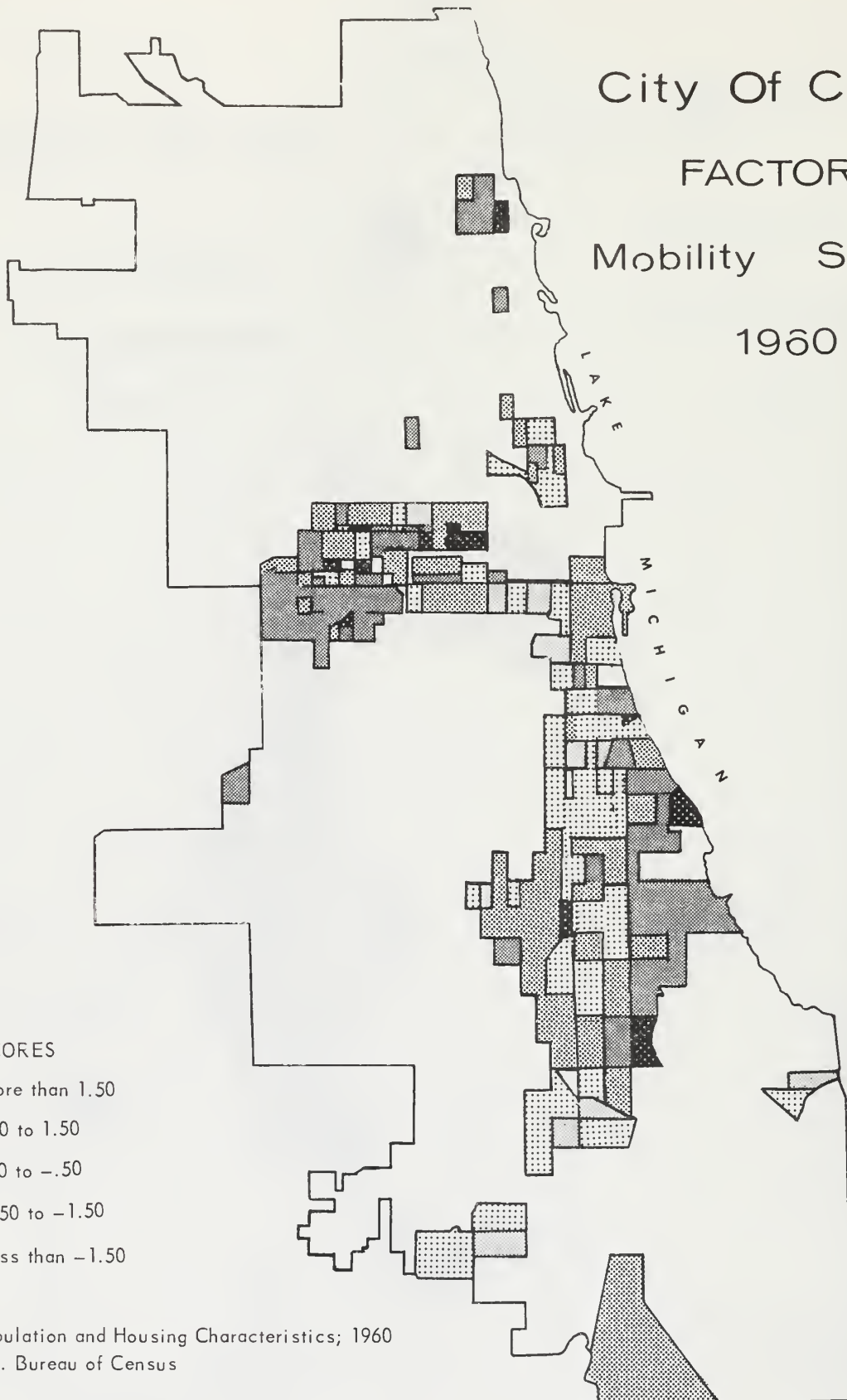
Mobility Status

1960

FACTOR SCORES



Source: Population and Housing Characteristics; 1960
U.S. Bureau of Census



labor force employed as private household workers, and a positive loading of percent of the labor force employed as professional and managerial employees.

The segregation pattern, with respect to the city, is clearly sectorial; however, in the western and southern portions, as well as in northern residential clusters, there are high-density cores of black residents (Fig. 2c). Fewer black residents and lower densities per tract are found in the northern settlement clusters, whereas a high black population density is found at the extreme western portion of the black community. Generally, the higher the density, the greater the proportion of private household workers and the smaller the proportion of professional and managerial employees.

Factor IV: Mobility

Mobility is characterized by a high positive loading of change in residence from outside the SMSA, and a negative loading of percent of population over sixty-five years of age. This factor explains approximately 7 percent of the total variation (Table 2).

The spatial pattern for the mobility factor suggests that there are distinguishable reception areas of "migrant zones" (Freedman, 1950) (Fig. 2d). In southern, western, and scattered northern residential areas, one or more reception zones are noted (high factor scores). Most are found in the far western portion and along the lake front of the southern portion of the black community. Areas with low factor scores are most often found near the CBD and cores of the southern and western portions of the black community.

Factor V: Craftsmen-Operative Structure

The craftsmen and operatives structure factor accounts for approximately 6 percent of the total variance. This factor is identified on the basis of one loading -- percent of the labor force employed as craftsmen and operatives. Since no discernible pattern emerged as a result of mapping the factor scores, no map is included.

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS FOR 1950 AND 1960

The composition of economic status (factor I) appears quite similar in both 1950 and 1960. Several variables indicating income, employment, occupation, owner-occupied dwellings, education, and sound housing have moderate-to-high loadings on the economic status dimension for the two time periods. However, certain dissimilarities in the variable loadings for the two time periods occur. The loadings of variables 11 and 3 (percent of the labor force employed as professional and managerial, and percent of households with 1.01 or more persons per room) on Factor I decreased considerably from 1950 to 1960. In 1960, variable 7 (percent of households with married heads) loaded highly positive on Factor I, but did not appear under Factor I in 1950. These changes in the composition of economic status loadings suggest that in 1950 the professional and managerial employees and dwellings with few children per room helped to differentiate high economic status within the black community, but, in 1960 these characteristics had decreased in significance in helping define high economic status for the black population. Conversely, economic status in 1960 seems more aligned with percent of households with married heads, suggesting a stronger association between this aspect of family organization and the economic well-being of black households.

A family structure factor is derived in both 1950 and 1960 (Factor III extracted in 1950 explaining 12 percent of the total variance, and Factor II in 1960 explaining 17 percent of the total variance). The difference in explained variance for the two factors indicates the increasing importance of family structure as a discriminating characteristic of the social and spatial structure of the black community. In 1950, family structure had moderate or strong associations with only three variables (9: percent of the population under 18 years of age; 6: population per household; and 13: percent of the labor force employed as laborers), while in 1960, it was related to variables 9 and 6, above,

plus variables 3, 10, and 16 (3: percent dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room; 10: percent of the population **sixty-five years of age and over**; and 16: **percent females in the labor force**).

One surprising result of this comparison is that, in 1950, variable 10 (percent of the population sixty-five years of age and over) did not load under the family structure factor as expected, but loaded weakly under Factor IV (craftsmen-operatives structure). A possible reason for this change is that the mean distribution of residents sixty-five years and older was 4.04 percent of the total population, with a standard deviation of less than 1.9 percent. This shows the small relative size of the elderly population and **its almost even** distribution throughout census tracts. While the older population is still **small**, 4.7 percent, in 1960, the standard deviation has increased to 2.6 percent showing more concentration in some census tracts than in others.

In another noteworthy change, variable 16 (percent of females in the labor force) loaded moderately negative (-.585) under the family structure factor in 1960, but loaded highly positive (0.823) under Factor V (female employment status) in 1950. Several selected correlations taken from the correlation matrices for 1950 and 1960 illustrate the change in percentage of females in the labor force with respect to other aspects of family status. In 1960, it correlates negatively with percent dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room (-.560). However, in 1950, lower correlations were found with the same three variables (-.203, -.229, and -.345 respectively).

Factor II in 1950 and Factor III in 1960 are similar in many respects. Both have high negative loadings of variables 21 and 8 (21: percent of black population in tracts, and 8: total black population). These two variables contribute most to the identification of these factors, and both are predominantly black density factors. In 1950, these density variables (21 and 8) plus the two mobility variables (18 and 19, change in residence from inside the county, and from outside the county, respectively) loaded together to form

Factor II. In 1960, the mobility variables were absent as loadings under Factor III, but instead, variable 14 (percent of the labor force employed as private household workers) was loaded here. Because of differences in loadings the factors are identified as "mobility-segregation structure" for 1950 and "segregation" in 1960.

The changing role of migration with respect to the ecological structure of the study area can be identified by simple correlations (Table 3). The correlations indicate that in 1950 the black population expanded in territory as well as in population in association with migration from both outside and within the county. More illuminating is the fact that both types of migration are channeled to areas with smaller black population densities. This suggests that there may not be sufficient housing available to accommodate this influx, or that migrating blacks tend to avoid densely populated black areas. Furthermore, whenever possible, black migrants desiring better housing tend to move to tracts with predominantly white populations where better housing is available.

TABLE 3

CORRELATION OF SELECTED VARIABLES RELATING TO MOBILITY
FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTY, 1950

Variables	21	8	18	19	10	2
21.% black pop/tract	1.00					
8. Total black pop.	.575	1.00				
18.% in different house	-.534	-.298	1.00			
19.% in different area	-.514	-.289	.370	1.00		
10.% pop. over 65 yrs.	.421	.232	-.350	-.227	1.00	
2. Median income	-.338	-.024	.199	.109	-.238	1.00

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Population and Housing Characteristics, 1950.

The segregation structure dimension (Factor III) in 1960, without the mobility factor loadings, suggests that the black community has undergone significant territorial expansion as a result of an invasion-succession process into predominantly white tracts. This is illustrated by variable 21 (percent of black population in tracts) in 1960, which has a .457 correlation with variable 8 (total black population). On the other hand, in 1950 the correlation of these two variables was .575, indicating a more concentrated black population in 1950 than in 1960; this suggests that many tracts were more integrated in 1960 than in 1950. No other correlation exists above .350 between either variable 21 or 8 and other variables, suggesting that the black population, regardless of socioeconomic characteristics, was still residentially segregated throughout Chicago. Furthermore, the relative independence of the migration variables from the black density variables suggests a decreasing tendency of both in-migration and intraurban migration to be predominantly directed to expansion areas on the fringes of the black area.

Factor IV (1950) and V (1960) are labeled as craftsmen-operatives factors. In each of the factors, the highest loading is variable 12 (percent of the labor force employed as craftsmen and operatives). A significant change in the factor from 1950 to 1960 is the disappearance of variable 7 (percent of the population over sixty-five years of age) as an important loading. This is another indication of the possible impact of a greatly increasing proportion of the population in the over sixty-five group.

The remaining factors, V in 1950 and IV in 1960, are quite dissimilar. In 1950, Factor V (female employment status) demonstrates the relative independence of proportion of females in the labor force from other aspects of family status, as discussed earlier. Change of residence from outside the SMSA since 1955, and a negative loading of percent of the population sixty-five years and over, characterize Factor IV (mobility structure), which is possibly an indication of a relatively younger black population migrating to the black community from

outside the SMSA since 1955, and a negative loading of percent of the population sixty-five years and over, characterize Factor IV (mobility structure), which is possibly an indication of a relatively younger black population migrating to the black community from outside the SMSA. Since no high positive or negative correlation exists ($> \pm .250$) between the mobility variable (19) and other variables, it appears that black immigrants from outside the SMSA are quite diverse in economic, family, and other socioeconomic characteristics.

COMPARISONS OF SPATIAL PATTERNS, 1950-1960

Spatial patterns of economic status within the black community for 1950 are similar to those of 1960. In both years economic status clearly increases with distance from the Central Business District of Chicago. Hence, the economic status of blacks continues to be strongly related to aspects of the overall urban structure (especially the nature of the housing market) that vary concentrically.

Several aspects of family structure patterns changed significantly between 1950 and 1960. For example, while the 1950 family structure patterns are sectorially distributed within the black community, large size families per household decrease with increasing distance from the CBD. On the other hand, by 1960 family structure patterns had changed slightly so that increasing numbers of large families were located on or near the periphery of the black community. Family structure areal patterns for 1960 appear to be related to urban renewal and public housing developments within the black community and the city.

Factor II (mobility-density) in 1950 and Factor III (segregation) in 1960 exhibit similar patterns. In both cases a core-periphery pattern with respect to the black residential area, reflecting invasion-succession processes at the periphery of the black community, can be identified. The remaining factors (craftsmen-operative status, 1950 and 1960; mobility status, 1960;

and female service employment status, 1950) lack distinct patterns. Therefore, they are not mapped.

To summarize the overall similarity between factor structures for the two time periods, a factor congruence program was performed (Table 4). Based on an equation derived by Harman (1967, p. 270), factor congruence compares two factor structures by computing coefficients of congruence for all pairs of factors. Coefficients of congruence are similar to correlation coefficients because they express the degree of association between factor pairs (Rummel, 1970, p. 461).

TABLE 4
CONGRUENCE OF FACTOR STRUCTURES, 1950 and 1960

1960		Econ. Status	Family Struc.	Segreg.	Mobility	Craftsm. -Oper.
1950		I	II	III	IV	V
Econ. Status	I	0.309	-0.407	0.121	0.034	-0.395
Mobility -Segreg.	II	-0.372	0.014	0.203	0.572	0.164
Family Struc.	III	-0.069	-0.758	-0.061	0.125	-0.190
Craftsm. -Oper.	IV	-0.093	0.468	0.096	0.577	0.160
Female Emplmt.	V	-0.052	0.440	-0.468	0.252	-0.054

The factor congruence analysis of the social structures of the black community for 1950 and 1960 reveals that the factor structures are dissimilar. Based on a scale where -1.00 represents perfect negative similarity, zero indicates complete dissimilarity, and +1.00 delineates perfect positive similarity, Table 4 indicates that both Economic Status (Factor I, 1950) and Mobility-Segregation (Factor II, 1950) have a very low degree of similarity respectively with Economic Status (Factor I, 1960) and Mobility

(Factor IV, 1960). The factor congruence also indicates that the 1950 Family Structure dimension (Factor III) has a high inverse relationship with Family Structure (Factor II) in 1960.

The dissimilarity between the two economic status dimensions is somewhat surprising because the previous comparisons of both the composition and spatial patterns of the two factors suggested considerable consistency. Perhaps the invasion-succession process occurring along much of the periphery of the black community, coupled with the outward displacement of each level of economic status, considerably revised the ranking of most of the census tracts on the economic status dimension. Other dissimilarities, including those involving the mobility and employment-related factors, seem consistent with comparisons discussed earlier in the paper.

DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1950-1960

In order to measure the percentage change for each of the twenty-one variables in the 125 census tracts (Table 5), a principal components factor analysis was employed to derive eight change dimensions with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. These dimensions account for 67 percent of the total variance.

Dimension I: Population Change

The first dimension, explaining 17.5 percent of the total variance, discriminates census tracts on the basis of their population change between 1950 and 1960. Tracts with high positive factor scores increased in both total black population and percent of black population. Negative scores for census tracts indicate changes which resulted in smaller increases in total black population and decreases in the percent black population. In general, high increases in absolute and relative numbers occur along the peripheries of the black community. As expected, the opposite characteristics are found in the core areas of the black community (Fig. 3a).

TABLE 5 -- ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX -- DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE: 1950-60*

VARIABLES	Communalities	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
8	.846	0.879							
21	.842	0.875							
3	.749	0.460		0.600					
17	.630	-0.437							
18	.613	-0.402							
1	.787		-0.854						
2	.742		0.801						
7	.696		0.568						
12	.461		0.432						
16	.688		0.411						
9	.773			-0.512					
6	.761			0.827					
10	.737			0.795					
13	.643			-0.718	0.741				
14	.642				0.720				
5	.707				-0.581	-0.423			
20	.714					-0.722			
4	.633					-0.401			
19	.724						-0.828	0.919	
11	.855								0.841
15	.742								
Cumulative proportion of total variance		.175	.308	.410	.483	.552	.612	.662	.712
Eigenvalues		3.69	2.79	2.14	1.51	1.45	1.26	1.05	1.04
DIMENSION	I -- Population change				DIMENSION	V -- Housing change			
II -- Income change					VI -- In-migration change				
III -- Family structure change					VII -- Professional-managerial change				
IV -- Unskilled employment change					VIII -- Unemployment change				

* Only factor loadings stronger than ± 0.400 are included in the table.

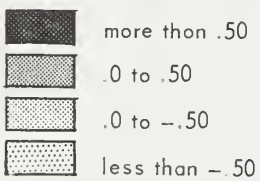
FIGURE 3a

City of Chicago

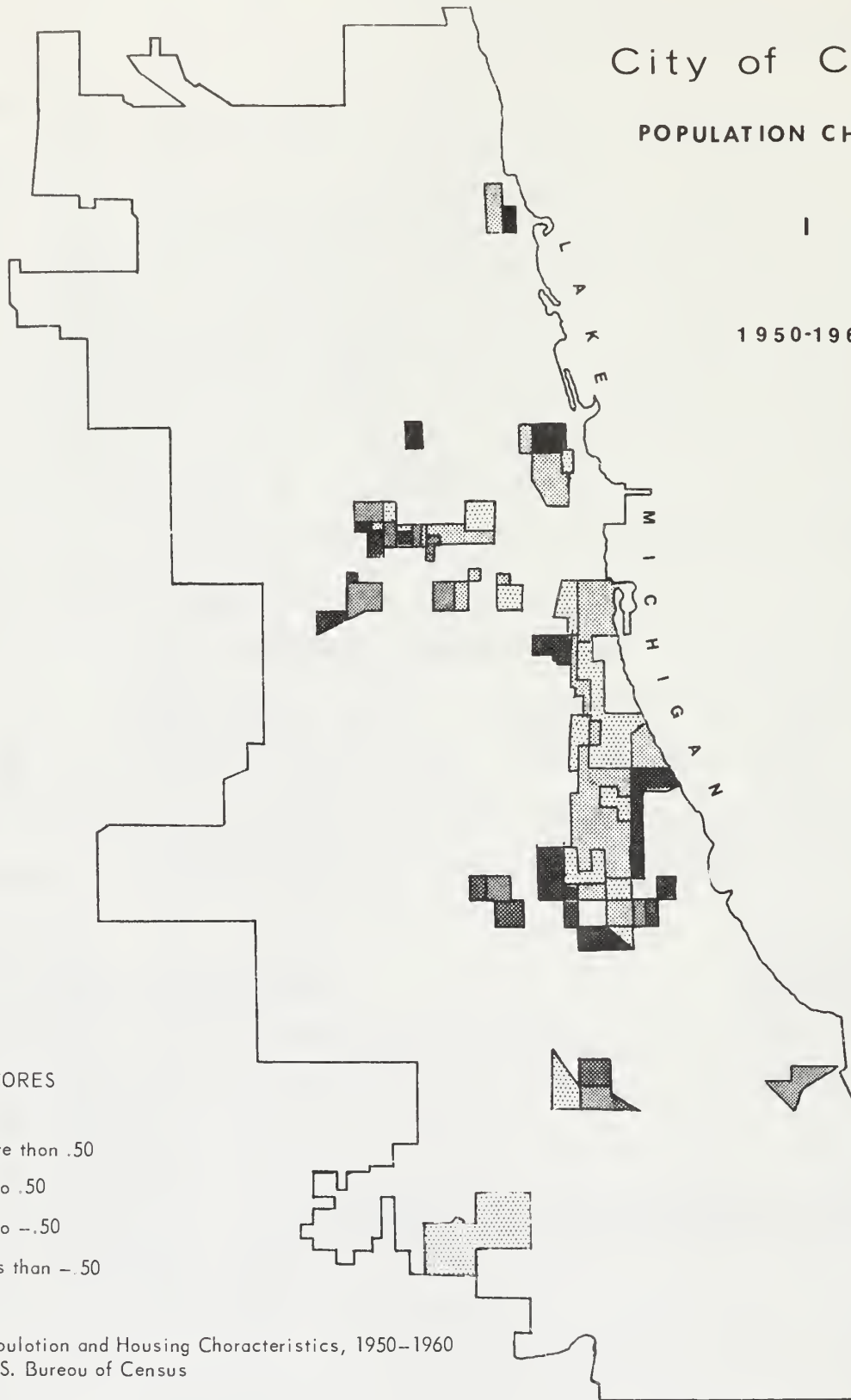
POPULATION CHANGE

1950-1960

FACTOR SCORES

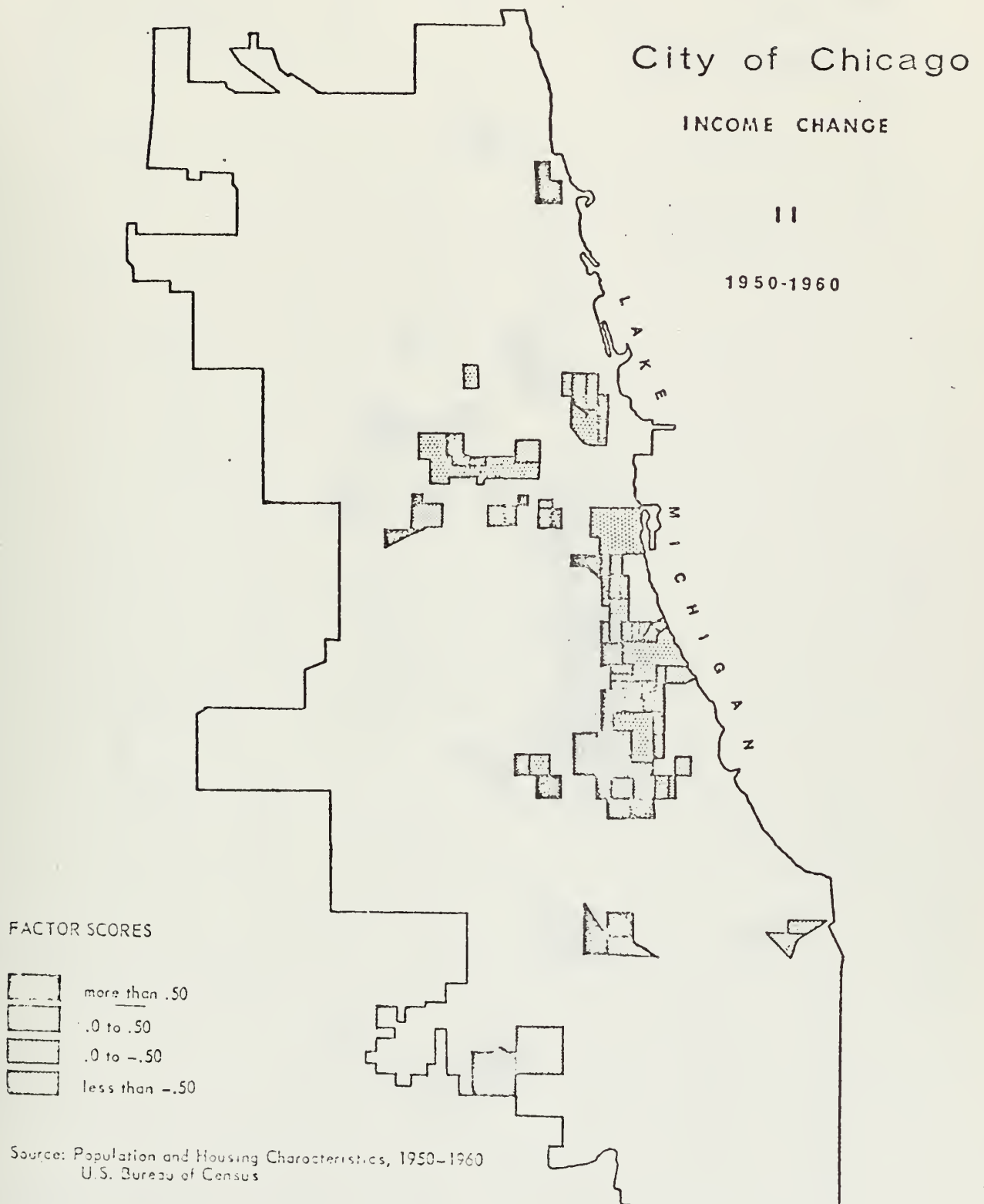


Source: Population and Housing Characteristics, 1950-1960
U.S. Bureau of Census



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FIGURE 3b



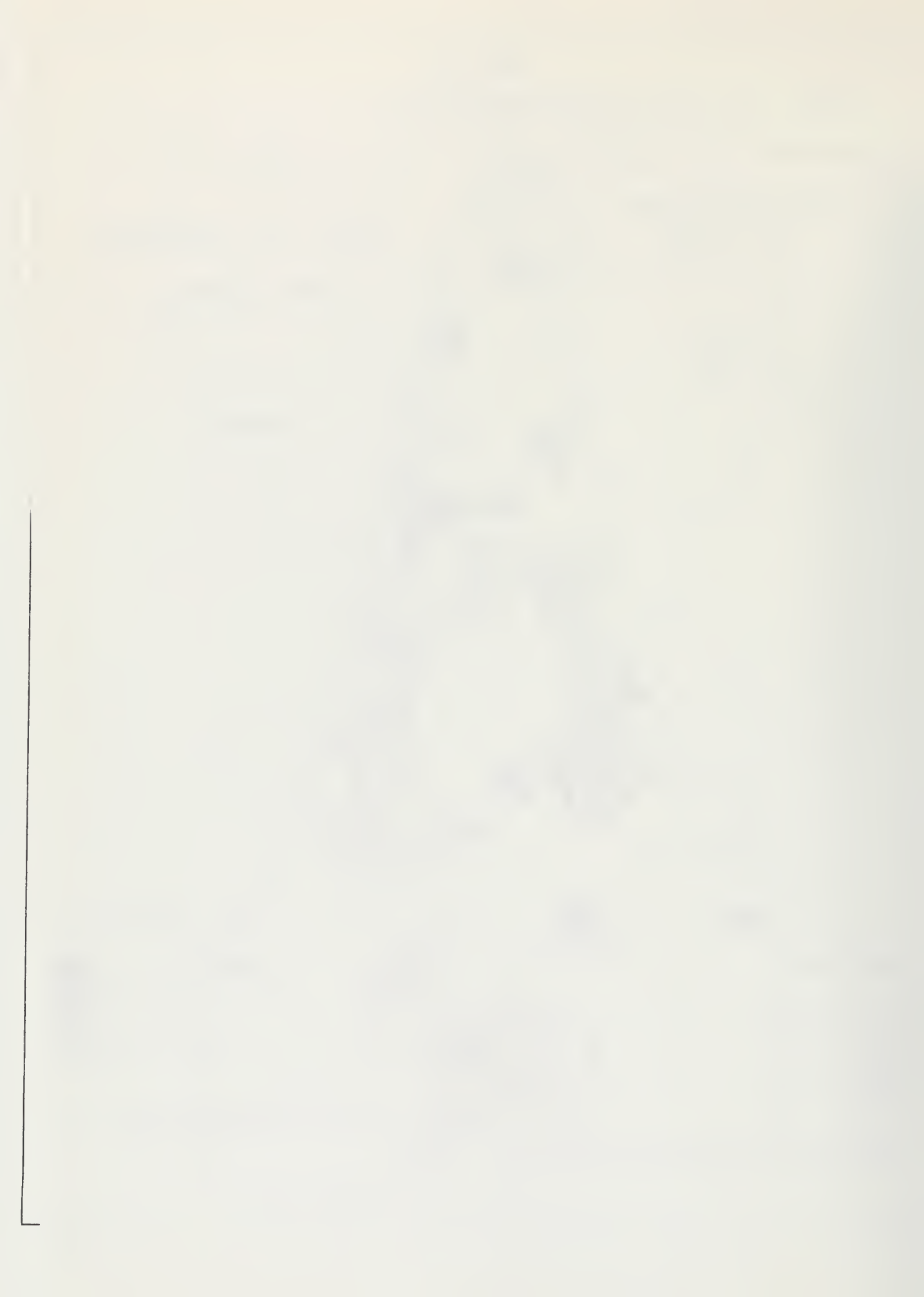


FIGURE 3c

City of Chicago

FAMILY CHANGE

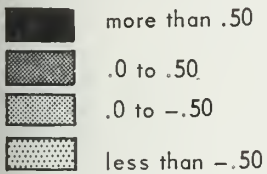
III

1950-1960

L
A
K
E

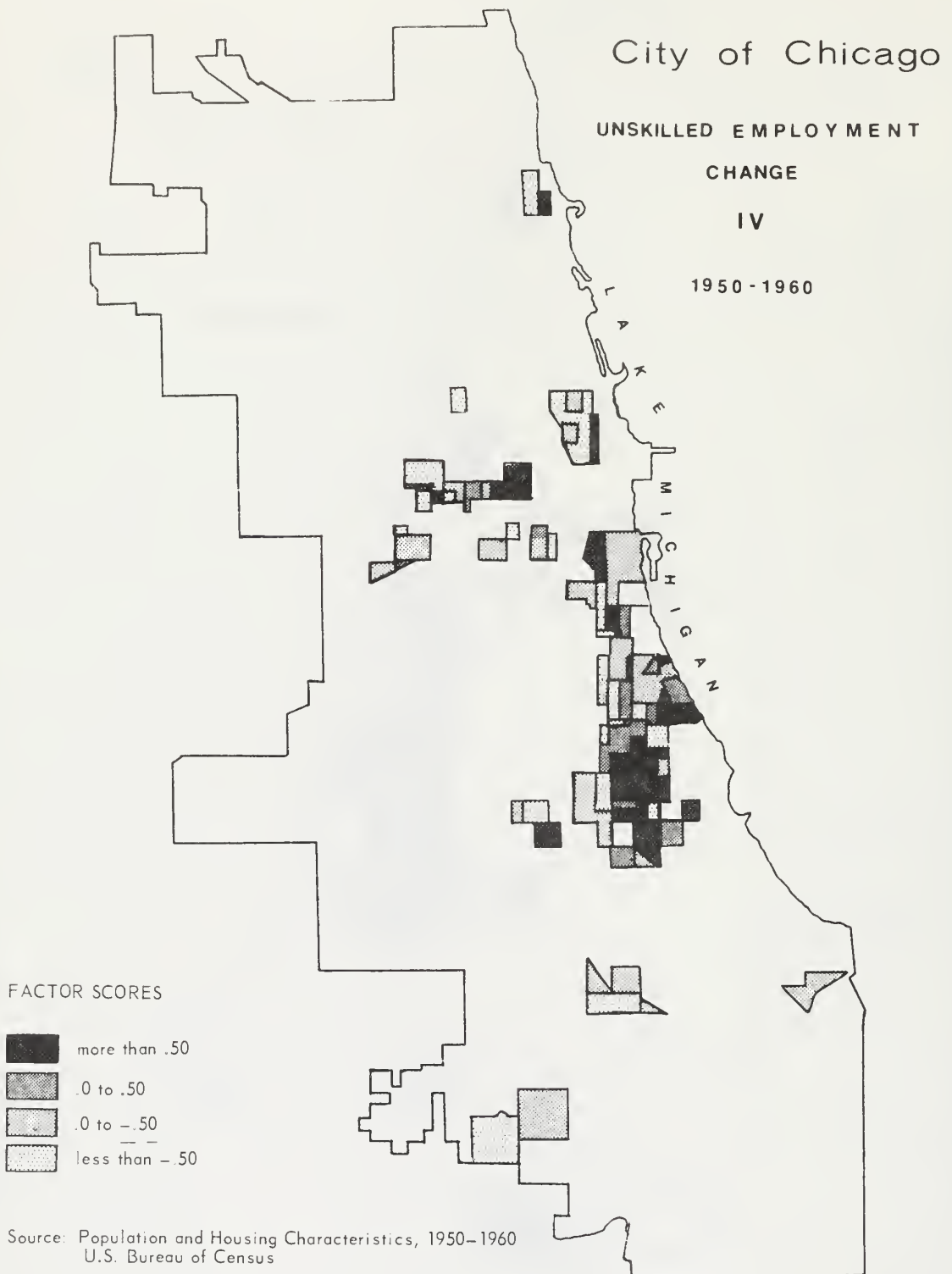
M
I
C
H
I
G
A
N

FACTOR SCORES



Source: Population and Housing Characteristics, 1950-1960
U.S. Bureau of Census

FIGURE 3d



Dimension II: Income Change

The second dimension distinguishes census tracts on the basis of income change, and explains 13.3 percent of the total variance. Positive scores identify census tracts which have experienced the greatest increase in income and a corresponding decrease in the number of families with incomes less than \$2,000, while negative scores identify opposite characteristics. Figure 3b indicates that clusters of high positive scores are dispersed throughout the black community, with some tendency for high positive factor scores to be located near the periphery.

Dimension III: Family Structure Change

The third dimension, family structure change, which explains 10.2 percent of the total variance (Table 5), has positive scores that identify census tracts with large increases in average family size, and negative scores which delineate areas with small increases or decreases in average family size. No spatial patterns of scores on this factor can be readily identified within the northern and western portions of the black community (Fig. 3c). However, in the southern portion high values on this dimension are found along the lake front, as well as on the peripheries of the black community. As was suggested previously, this pattern is in part the result of the relocation of families related to public housing and urban renewal projects.

Dimension IV: Unskilled Employment Change

Service employment change is identified as the fourth dimension, explaining 7.3 percent of the total variance. Census tracts with positive scores indicate highest increases in the proportion of labor force employed as laborers and private household workers in the labor force. Negative scores identify census tracts that have experienced smaller increases in the proportion of the labor force made up of these two groups. Clustered patterns of unskilled employment change are illustrated in Figure 3d.

Census tracts with greatest increases in the proportion of laborers and private household workers are located in the southern portion of the black community. Census tracts with smaller increases in unskilled employment occur predominantly in the northern area of the black community.

Dimension V: Housing Change

The fifth dimension is housing change, which explains 6.9 percent of the total variance. Positive scores indicate stability, or a decrease in the proportion of sound housing within census tracts (Table 5). Zones of high or moderate decrease in sound housing occur west of the CBD, in the extreme southwestern area, and along the periphery of the south side black community (Fig. 3e). The relatively low factor scores near the CBD and in the core of the south side black area may indicate significant urban renewal or public housing projects, and/or a large proportion of housing that was unsound prior to 1950.

Dimensions VI, VII, and VIII: In-Migration Change, Professional-Managerial Change, and Unemployment Change

Change dimensions VI, VII, and VIII (In-migration, Professional-Managerial Employment, and Unemployment), each explaining 6 percent or less of the total variance, are largely related to individual variables (Table 5). The in-migration **change dimension** is mapped (Fig. 3f), but no clear pattern is revealed, illustrating that the location of reception areas has shifted from a largely peripheral location in 1950, to scattered locations in 1960. The spatial patterns of Factors VII and VIII are not clear, so are not **reproduced** here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Many processes, both internal and external, effect Chicago's black community. While this study is exploratory, several structural characteristics of the black community have been identified, suggesting processes which may underlie these characteristics.

FIGURE 3e

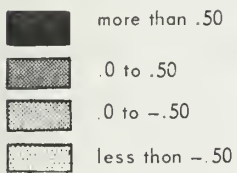
City of Chicago

HOUSING CHANGE

V

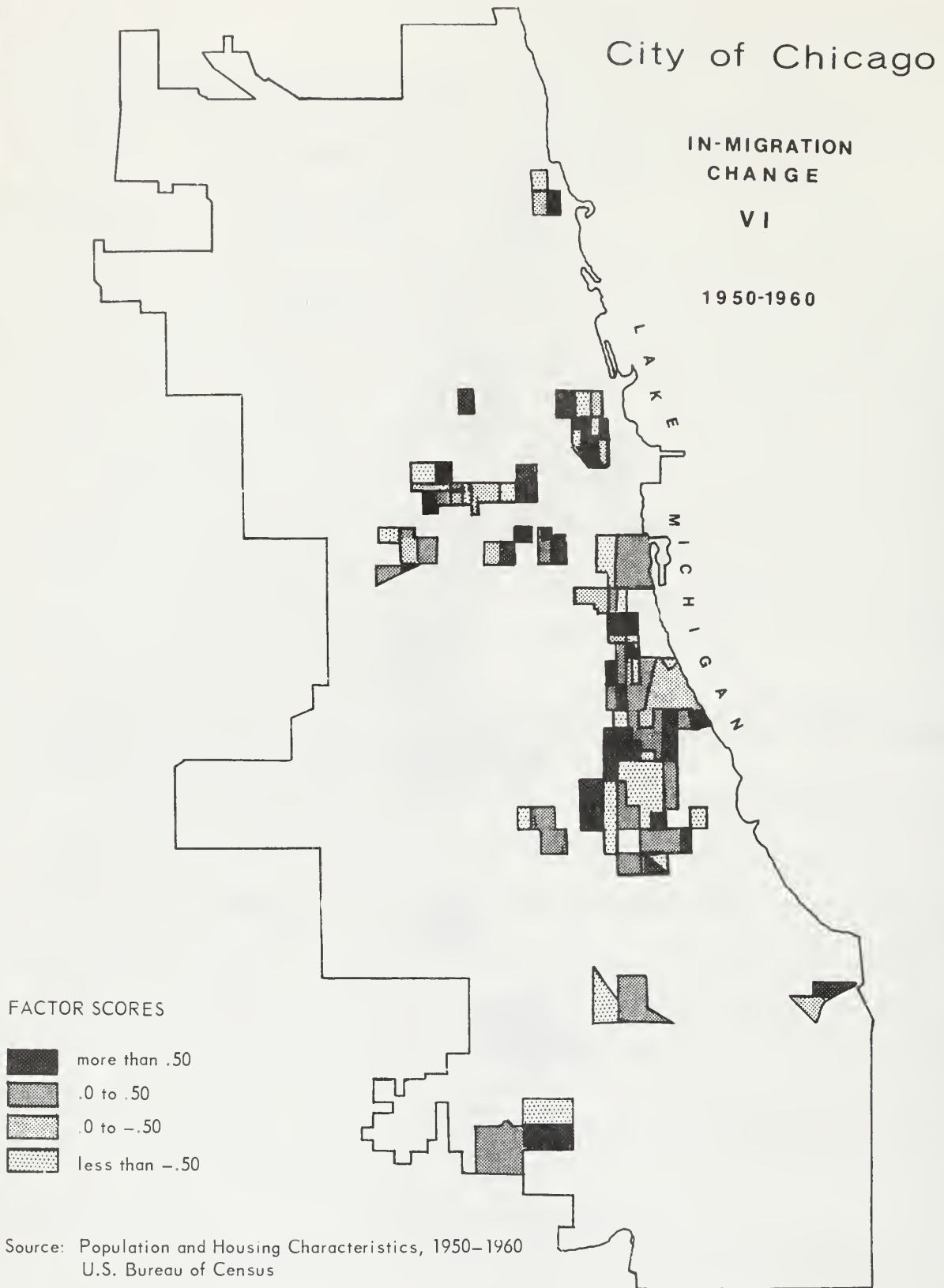
1950-1960

FACTOR SCORES



Source: Population and Housing Characteristics, 1950-1960
U.S. Bureau of Census

FIGURE 3f



Social structure within the black community is changing but not as rapidly as might be expected. Social structure and spatial changes result from two processes: (1) those which operate within the black community (e.g., migration, stratification, etc.), and (2) city-wide, which operate within the entire city and influence the black population (e.g., public housing, discrimination, etc.) The net effect of city-wide processes appears to moderate or inhibit social processes within the black community.

Social structure dimensions of the black community seem to be quite similar to previous studies applying factor analysis to entire metropolitan communities. These similarities suggest that the black community, through population, income and other change characteristics, is becoming stratified socially and economically, similar to the total metropolitan community. However, many processes operating at the city-level inhibit stratification within the black community.

The social structure analysis of the black community for 1960 produced few significant differences from the 1950 analysis. The principal exception concerned certain social and economic variables which did not discriminate highly within the social structure of the black community in 1950, and conversely did serve as moderate-to-strong discriminators of social structure ten years later. This difference suggests that some type of social stratification process is taking place in the black community.

Black communities spatial patterns of social structure differ in several ways from patterns discerned in studies of entire urban communities. The black community is growing sectorially throughout the city; however, economic status is concentric within each of the growth sectors as well as concentric in relation to the entire metropolitan area. Frazier (1932) had similar findings. This concentric pattern for economic status is quite

different from other studies that postulated sectorial economic status patterns for entire cities. Furthermore, family structures for both 1950 and 1960 display strong sectorial patterns, contrary to previous studies of entire cities where a concentric pattern was identified. Family structure and its spatial expressions within the black community appear to be strongly influenced by urban renewal, especially public housing developments located throughout the community.

Another process which underlies the social structure and spatial patterns of the black community is **migration**. **Migrants of diverse social** and economic character have been channelled to specific areas within the black community, with certain reception zones receiving a relatively high proportion of these migrants. Through a complex invasion-succession process operating within the community and adjacent, predominantly white tracts, the black community expanded territorially during the decade following 1950.

The factor congruence test reveals similarities and dissimilarities of the social structure of the black community for the two time periods. No significant correlation is derived.

The change dimensions, comparing 1950 and 1960 data, suggest a reinforcement of existing social structures within the black community. However, that portion of the black core area found on the south side experienced more variation in social structure because many large families have been relocated to the periphery of the black community. Public housing and urban renewal contribute to the pattern change.

The patterns revealed in this research can best be understood through reference to processes operating within the black community. Migration, a major process affecting social structure, is in part inhibited by the

ecological aspects of discrimination and prejudice throughout the city of Chicago. However, migration (both from within and from without the metropolitan area) focused on the periphery in 1950; hence, these areas served as reception areas for migrants. The lack of housing for migrants in the core area contributed to this push outward to tracts adjacent to the black community. The findings indicate the periphery is more diverse in economic and family structure than the core. Hence, the migration process going on within the black community does not seem to be as economically selective as the usual invasion-succession model suggests. In fact, migrant destinations were independent of economic and family structure attributes found in these locations. Thus, both the changing nature of the housing market and migration processes are seen to be important considerations in the explanation of the spatial patterns of social structure. Many questions relating to mobility and residential selective processes should be geared toward explanation and verification of these patterns in Chicago, and other cities with more recent data.

This discussion has focused on social structure dimensions and derived patterns for 1950 and 1960. Other research is needed to develop an aggregate model of stages of black community development. The changing aggregate social and spatial form of the black community should be considered in terms of: (1) changing relationships between mobility and the social-spatial form of the community; (2) density, segregation and social-spatial stratification within a growing black community; and (3) types of aggregate changes relative to similar changes in the entire urban area.

Many questions concerning the processes mentioned, and other related processes which underlie the social structure and the spatial expression of the black community, are still unanswered. It is hoped that this paper will stimulate further research concerning the black population, more specifically,

black migration, migrant reception zones, and other processes that influence social and economic structure and spatial patterns of black communities.

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PART II:

THE OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF AN URBAN BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO, 1950-60

ABSTRACT

The occupational profiles of a portion of Chicago's black community, of Chicago, and of the United States are analyzed for the period of time from 1950-60. Selected occupational classifications, Professional and Managerials; Sales and Clericals; Craftsmen and Operatives; Laborers; Private Household Workers; and Service Workers are compared according to the percent of employees in each occupational classification. The black community's occupational structure has changed very little. Craftsmen and operatives, making up approximately 50 percent of the labor force of the black community, approximated the Chicago and national percentages employed in this occupation for the 1950-60 period. Within the black community, professional and managerials, and clericals and sales workers composed the smallest percent employed of any classification. Compared with Chicago and the nation, the black community is clearly underrepresented. However, this classification has shown the greatest amount of change during the time period. Through the 1950-60s, the black community has remained significantly overrepresented in the lower paying job classifications, (e.g. service workers, laborers, and private household workers). This study illuminates the inequities in the occupational structure of Chicago's black community relative to Chicago and the nation.

An individual's occupation supposedly reflects some of his innermost traits, such as talent, aptitude, IQ, interest, temperament, physical powers, education, training, experience, etc. (Wolfbein, 1971: 41). Although numerous surveys have focused on aspects of employment, unemployment, occupational profile, job training, and many other labor force related topics, most of these indexes have been analyzed for entire cities or for the total U.S. (Wolfbein, 1952, 1964, Blau and Duncan, 1967, and numerous Bureau of Census Publications).

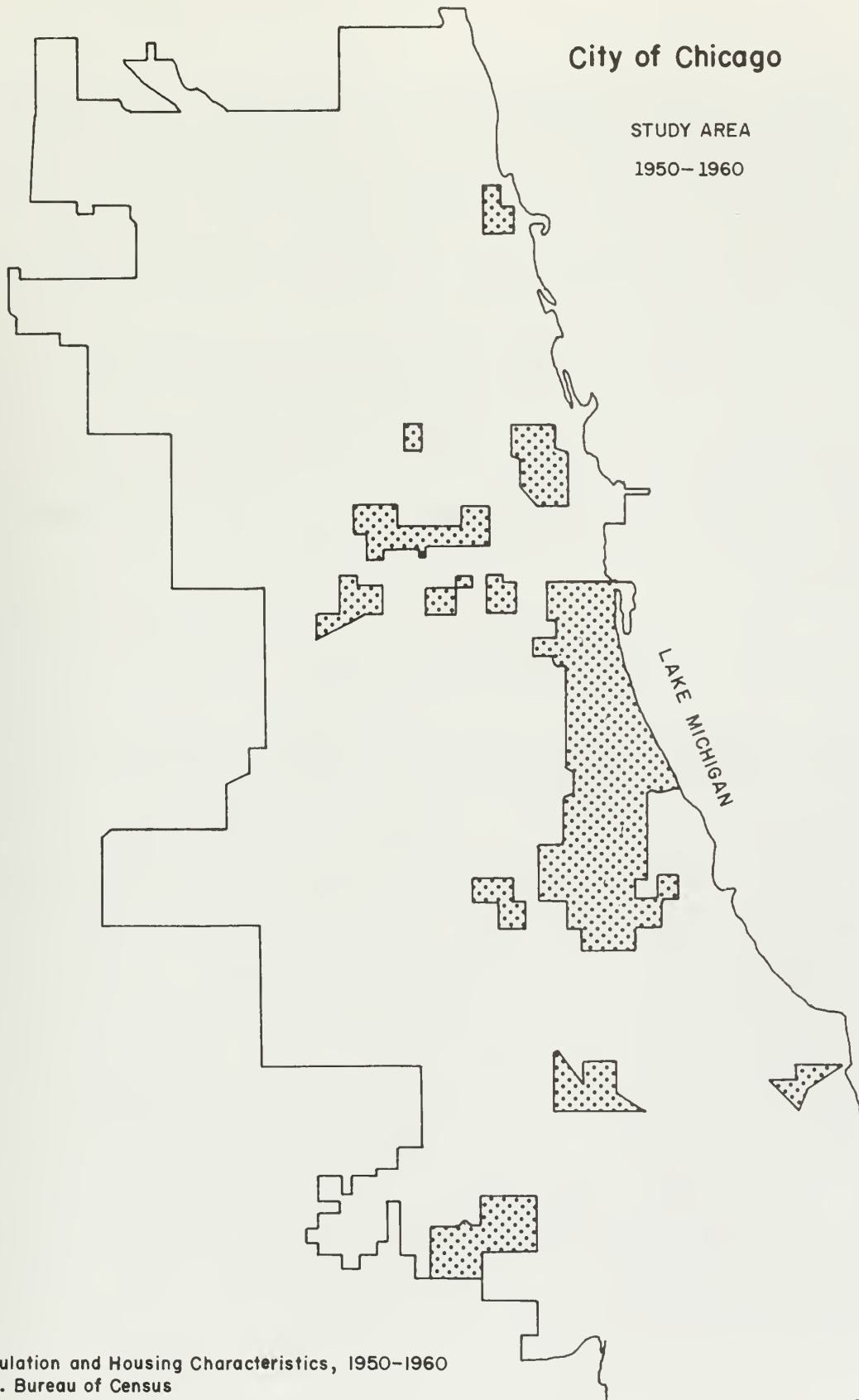
The present study is more limited. It deals with a selected spatial unit of the black community of Chicago. Several questions are posed: 1) what is the occupational profile of this portion of the black community of Chicago? 2) how does it compare with the occupational profiles of the total city of Chicago and the nation? 3) what have been the temporal effects on the occupational profile from 1950 to 1960? and 4) what social processes explain the changing aspects of occupations within the black community?

STUDY AREA AND DATA

The study area within Chicago is composed of census tracts containing 250 or more nonwhites in 1950, and 400 or more nonwhites in 1960, according to the U.S. Census of Population. The nonwhite population in the study area consists of more than 97 percent black residents for both time periods (Chicago Urban League, 1959, 1965) and will be referred to as the black community throughout this paper (Map 1).

City of Chicago

STUDY AREA
1950-1960



Data utilized in the analysis consist of occupational classifications for the black community of Chicago, for the **city** of Chicago and for the nation. Observations include 125 census tracts for each of the two time periods analyzed. These census tracts were selected for this analysis because they were identical in location and size in both 1950 and 1960. Variables consist of the following occupational groups: Professionals and Managerials, Sales and Clericals, Craftsmen and Operatives, Laborers, Private Household Workers, and Service Workers. Several occupational groups were combined for the purpose of this study to facilitate ease of data interpretation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDY AREA

Several changes have taken place within the black community of Chicago since 1950. The community has experienced an increase in population, producing a more dense black population. and more importantly for the purpose of this paper, there has been a decrease in the number of persons employed--from 161,347 in 1950 to 127,126 in 1960, a decrease of more than 34,221 employed persons in the labor force. Population density per tract, calculated for each of the 125 census tracts considered in the study area, increased from a mean of 3,190 persons in 1950, to 3,732 persons in 1960. Another density characteristic found in the community was the increase in population per household, which rose from a mean of 2.96 persons per household in 1950 to over 3.4 persons per household in 1960. These data

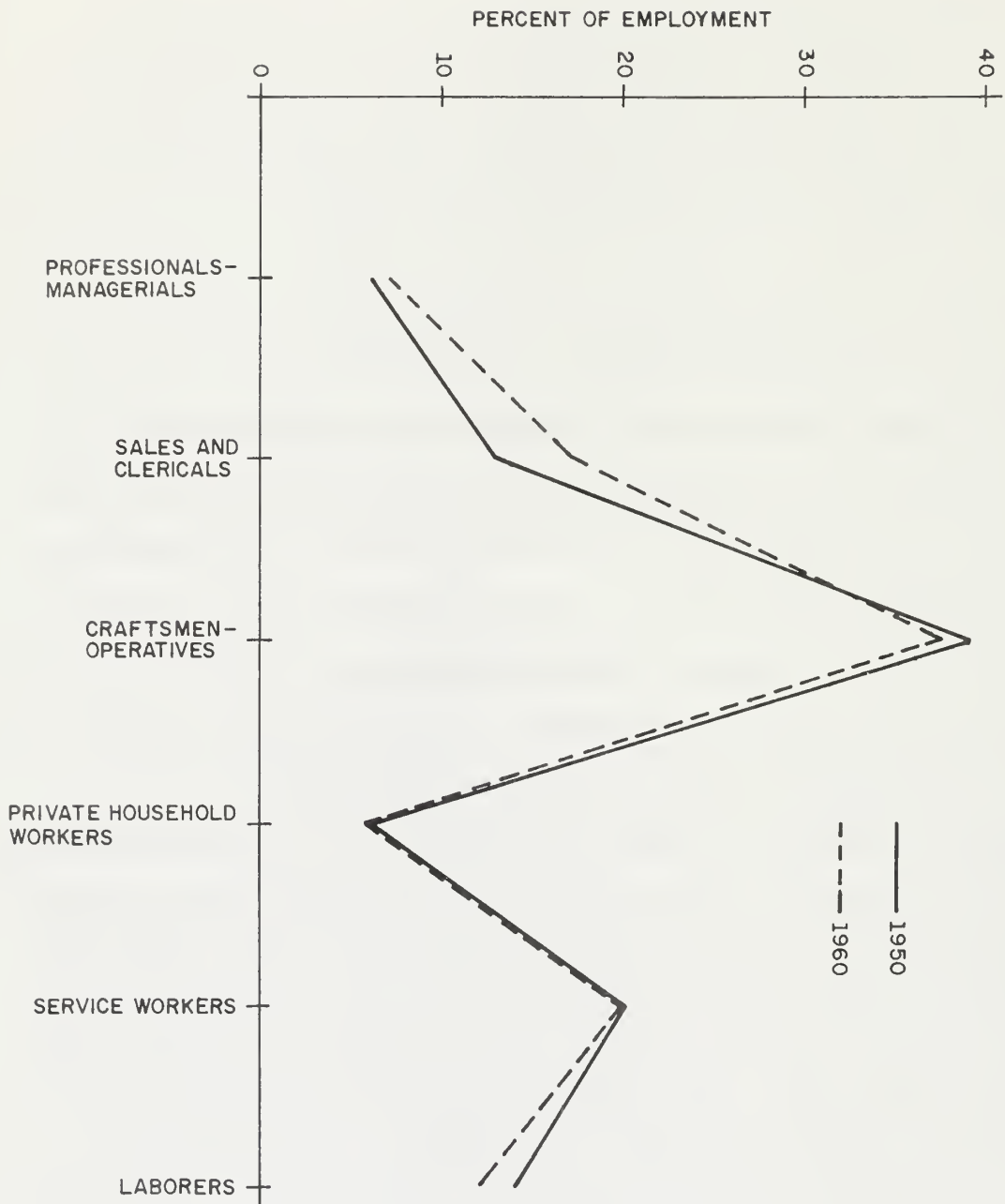
suggest that a major portion of the population increase in the black community can be attributed to the increased number of children under eighteen years of age living in the household, rather than an increase in the total number of employable persons in the community.

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILES FOR 1950 AND 1960

Approximately 161,347 employed residents lived within the black community in 1950. The largest percentage of the residents were craftsmen and operatives, accounting for more than 39 percent of the total employed residents in the community. Lesser percentages worked as service workers (20 percent), laborers (14 percent), sales and clericals (13 percent), professionals and managerials, and private household workers, each with six percent of the employed residents in the black community.

A large **in-migration of blacks from rural places in the southern United States**, and urban migrants from both southern and northern cities initiated an invasion-succession process (Freedman, 1959). The invasion-succession process plays a major role in creating and perpetuating residential segregation according to social class throughout the city, as well as in the black community. The spread of the black community is described as a spatial diffusion in which black in-migrants gradually penetrate the surrounding white communities and eventually assume dominance. An important feature of this process is that the initial penetration is often "spear-headed" by high status blacks who are economically best suited to compete

FIGURE 1
OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO
1950 AND 1960



in the white housing market. Generally, the black migrant has equal or higher status than the whites have in the invaded area (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965).

With a population increase of more than 64 percent during the decade, from approximately 509,000 to a total of more than 633,000 black residents for the total entire city, one would expect many changes have occurred in the occupational structure of this segment of the black community; however, very little change did occur. Figure 1 shows that some changes are found in three occupational classifications of the black community; professional-managerials, sales and clericals, and laborers.

The black community of Chicago increased its percentage of employed residents in the professional and managerial occupations. This classification is quite broad, as it encompasses counselors, teachers, technicians, draftsmen, doctors, pharmacists, dietitians, dental hygienists, architects, lawyers, personnel workers, librarians, social scientists, humanists, and "hard" scientists, such as biologists, chemists, physicists, metallurgists, geologists, and mathematicians. Salaried managers and officials of business enterprises make up approximately 75 percent of the managerial classification. Independent proprietors, the small businessmen composed the remaining 25 percent (Wolfbein, 1971: 47).

The question posed at this point is what occupations have increased their percentages of blacks--biologists, lawyers, doctors? Possibly not. Broom and Glenn (1965) note that the black gains in physician, lawyer, and dental occupations, and other higher middle-class occupations are significant

in terms of what has occurred in Negro life heretofore, but are relatively small. The ratio of actual to expected number of blacks in middle-class occupations, as measured by the total labor force distribution, is extremely small.

Edwards (1959) comments that social mobility of blacks up to the present has been determined more by conditions within the black community than by those of the broader society. The number and distribution of blacks within the professions have been related directly to the needs of the black community for certain types of services. In his article entitled "Community and Class Realities: The **Ordeal** of Change," Edwards states that clergymen and teachers, functionaries required by the segregated black community, have represented at least one-half of all black professional persons at any given period. It is suspected that the same conditions existed during the decade 1950 to 1960. The increase noted for the black community of Chicago in the professional and managerial occupations is no doubt a reflection of the tremendous increase in the black population in the community and surrounding black communities and a commensurate increase in its needs for service professionals.

Sales and clerical occupations within the black community show a slight increase--from 13 percent to 17 percent of the employed black population in the community for 1950 and 1960, respectively. Here, the largest groups within the sales and clerical occupations are those who work in retail outlets, and secretaries and stenographers. Both these subgroups have increased tremendously throughout the nation. Other subgroups of this classification are real-estate and insurance agents, occupations which have

increased relative to the increasing overall employment. The clerical occupational category includes typists, receptionists, office machine operators, telephone operators, shipping and receiving clerks, etc. Although sales and clerical employed personnel are considered white collar, this occupation almost certainly receives less compensation than numerous blue collar occupations. Sales and clerical occupations, unlike those of professionals and managerials, are more inclined toward shorter journey-to-work and are more responsive to downtown job opportunities.

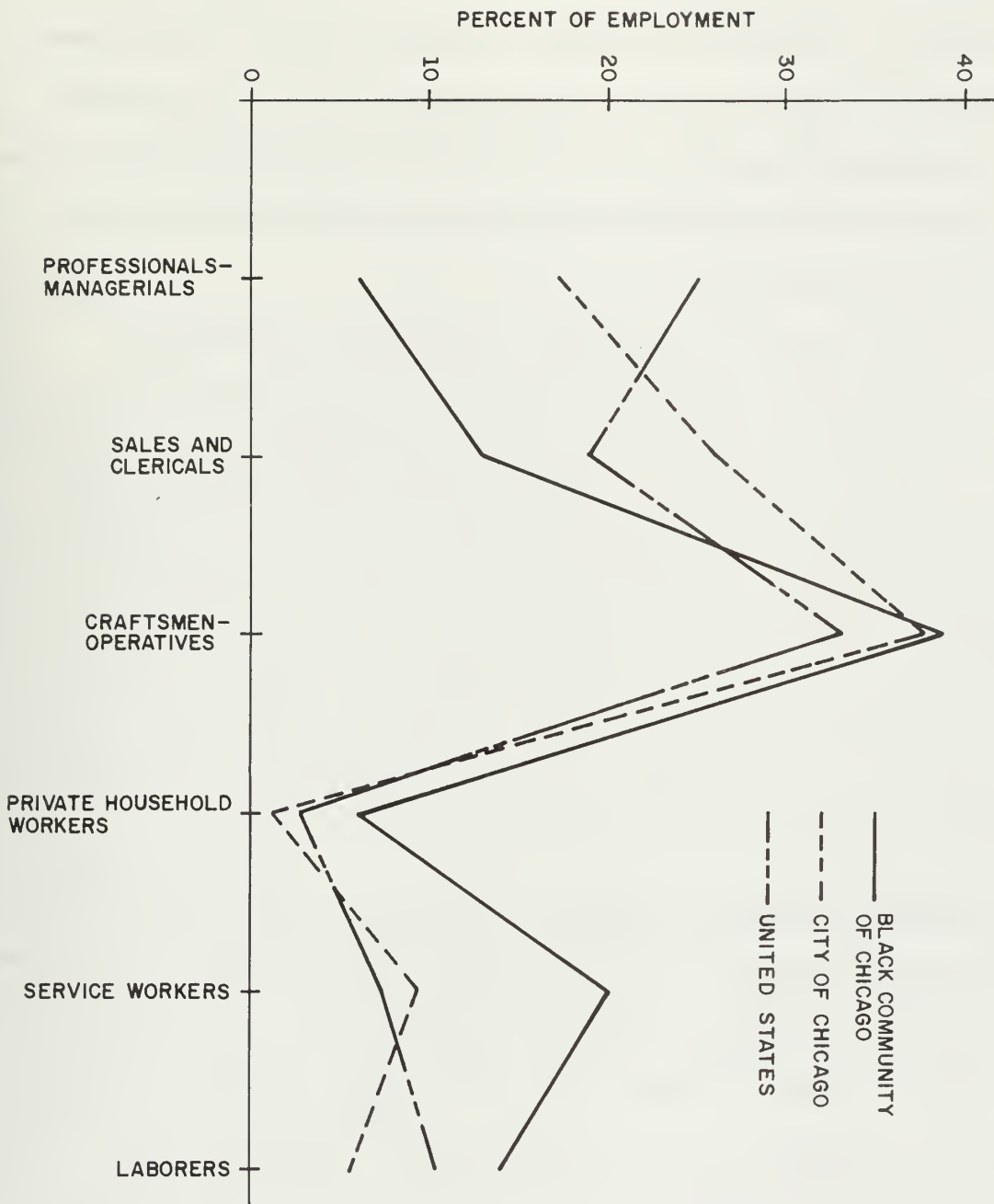
The historical and present aspects of discrimination, segregation, and the widespread urbanization of the black population have consistently inhibited the economic progress of blacks throughout the country. The integration of blacks throughout the society presents both threats and rewards for the black community. Threats are presented to those black entrepreneurs who have depended so heavily upon the compact and segregated black community for their market. With the impact of desegregation and "awareness of self-esteem ... black power," numerous white and black businessmen previously taking the Negro market for granted have become more conscious of the black sales market and its purchasing power. This is especially true in large cities with large black populations like Chicago. For black and white entrepreneurs to develop and continue their control of selected black sales markets, it has been consistently necessary to employ blacks in occupations not previously open to them. Examples of this are found in the sales and clerical occupational classification more than in any other occupational groups.

Overall, the increased employment of blacks in the sales and clerical occupations is a reflection of the increasing purchasing power of an increasing black population. Other reasons for black gains in this occupational classification are accessibility to jobs in the city, social conscience, public relations, etc.

The laborer occupational classification experienced some decline in the percentage of employed persons in the black community. However, the percentage decline of laborers is suspected to be **nationwide as a result** of increased technology throughout all sectors of our economy. Laborers are classified as blue collar occupations--the lowest level. Essentially, the lack of a skill, or an outdated semiskill, place these persons in economic flux. In periods of a booming economy, the demand for laborers surpasses the supply; however, in times of a stable or declining economy, laborers find themselves threatened with high and consistent unemployment. It is suggested that this decline in the percentage of laborers employed in the black community is a reflection of increasing technology creating a decline in the demand for laborers.

The percentages of blacks employed in craftsmen and operatives, services, and private household workers classifications have remained almost stable throughout the 1950-1960 decade. Accepting the notion of an invasion-succession process occurring in the black community during the decade (Christian, 1972; Duncan and Duncan, 1957; Frazier, 1932; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965), where new in-migrants displace the older residents in housing and residential space, such moves by older residents (length of residence as opposed to age of residents) are most likely based on increasing economic gains, possibly as a result of new employment status. Some jobs are left

FIGURE 2
OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY
THE CITY OF CHICAGO AND THE U.S.
1950



behind within the black community and are readily filled by numerous lower skilled craftsmen, operatives, and service workers. Further, the increasing black in-migration causes both an increased sales market and subsequently new job opportunities within or close to the black community; however, these created jobs are often insufficient to compensate for the total number of in-migrants seeking employment.

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE DIFFERENTIALS--1950-1960

The achievement of occupational equality by blacks within the American society is a difficult process, as overall discrimination against blacks inhibits easy access to high-paying occupational positions. A comparison of the occupational profile of the black community with the occupational profiles of Chicago and the nation for the decade reflects this notion. Figure 2 shows the occupational profile of the three spatial units in which distinct underrepresentation in high-paying occupations and distinct overrepresentation in low-paying occupations tend to predominate.

Professional Managerial Occupations: The black community of Chicago is very much underrepresented in this occupational classification -- black community, 6 percent; Chicago, 17.4 percent; and the nation, 25.2 percent. In professional and managerial employment, blacks lag 11 percent behind the population of Chicago as a whole, and 25.2 percent behind the nation. These figures are slightly misleading because the professional and managerial occupations incorporate a significant percentage of farm owners and farm managers, who are nonexistent in the city of Chicago. The continuing tendency of the middle class (especially professionals and managerials) to migrate away from the city to suburbia is another reason for the underrepresentation of blacks and of Chicago.

Sales and Clericals: In this classification, the black community is also highly underrepresented -- 13 percent for the black community, 26.3 percent in the city of Chicago, and 19 percent in the United States. Chicago is overrepresented when compared with the nation, approximately 7 percentage points underrepresented, when compared respectively with Chicago and the nation.

Craftsmen and Operatives: Interestingly and surprisingly, the black community of Chicago is slightly overrepresented. Approximately 39 percent of the black residents in the black community are employed as craftsmen and operatives, while the city records 38.1 percent and the nation 33.6 percent of its employed persons in this occupational classification. The high percentage employed in this classification for the black community and Chicago is clearly a reflection of the industrial dominance of Chicago. Further, the higher percentage shown for the black community may be a reflection of many white craftsmen and operatives vacating the city in favor of suburban residential locations.

Private Household Workers: Blacks predominate in this occupational classification. In fact, the percentage of blacks as private household workers within the black community is six times that of Chicago, and three times that of the nation.

Service Workers: The black community has 20 percent of its employed residents in this classification. This is almost two-and-one-half times that of Chicago and three times that of the nation.

Laborers (except mine): Employed black residents are found overrepresented in this occupational classification, accounting for more than 14 percent of the black community's employed residents. Chicago and the nation

have 5.7 percent and 10.3 percent, respectively. Interestingly, the percentage of laborers in the black community is almost three times that of Chicago, and less than one and one-half times that of the nation.

Considering the occupational profiles for the black community, Chicago, and the nation, Figure 3 shows that little change has occurred in any of these units. A similar occupational profile is found for both 1950 and 1960, with few notably significant changes. Changes in professionals and managers, sales and clericals, and laborers occupational classifications are slightly significant.

Professional and Managerial Classification: During the decade, the percentage employed in professional-managerial occupations decreased approximately 2 percent for the nation and for Chicago; however, in the black community of Chicago there was an increase of one percent in employed residents in this classification. The decline of professionals and managers within the nation may be partly attributed to the decline of farm managers throughout the nation. This, plus the out-migration of a large number of persons of this occupational classification to suburbia and other smaller towns outside Chicago, explains in part the decline of professionals and managers within Chicago. The small percentage increase in black professionals and managers is possibly a reflection of the increasing number of black entrepreneurs in services and other small business. However, it is assumed that this increase is mostly teachers and clergy, functionaries who are increasing as a result of an increasing black population.

Sales and Clericals Classification: The total percent of blacks employed in this occupation declined approximately 2 points within the black community, while Chicago and the nation recorded employment increases in this occupational

classification of 1 percent and 3 percent, respectively. The percentage of black population employed in the laborer classification remained three times that of Chicago and one and one-half times that of the nation. This high percentage reflects the low skills and lack of skills of many new rural migrants to the black community. Further, the increasing percentage of employed laborers in Chicago, and the decreasing percentage of employed laborers in the black community, reflect the high number of black laborers unemployed and the increased discrimination in a period of low economic growth, as both blacks and whites who have no skills compete for the same occupations. Although this is not tested, it appears plausible given the conditions of Chicago during this period.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The black community's occupational structure has changed very little during the decade from 1950 to 1960. The largest percentage of employed residents is found in the craftsmen and operatives occupations, an occupational classification which ranges from skilled to semiskilled personnel, and with equally wide ranges of occupations and salaries. Craftsmen and operatives make up approximately two-fifths of the total employed black population within the study area community. Service workers make up the second largest percentage of employed black residents. These two classifications account for over 60 percent of the employed black residents within the community.

White collar occupations (professionals, managerials, sales, and clericals) account for a smaller percentage of the employed population -- approximately 24 percent of the employed residents in 1960, compared with only 19 percent in 1950, an overall increase of 5 percent during the decade. It might

be suspected that a larger percentage of black white collar employees are found distributed on the periphery of the study area and dispersed in other tracts throughout the city. However, it is suggested that the increase in professionals, managerials, sales, and clericals in the black community is a reflection of the overall increase of the black population in the city of Chicago rather than a growing demand from the broader society. Essentially, this black in-migration represents a growing sales market and an increasing purchasing power which blacks are consistently being employed to develop and control.

A comparison of the black community's occupational profile with those of Chicago and the nation reveals that blacks have made some gains in several of the middle class occupational classification, but for the most part they still remain significantly underrepresented in the white collar occupations while overrepresented in low-paying occupations such as service workers, laborers, and private household workers.

The craftsmen and operatives occupational classification almost equally represented with a slight edge (1 percent) in favor of the black community. Future studies many show this to be misleading, as this classification represents both a wide range of skills and compensatory rewards. Wolfbein furthers this notion by stating that "blacks earn consistently less than whites in the same occupational groups" (Wolfbein, 1971). This suggests very strongly that more research is needed in this area.

This study has illuminated the inequities in the occupational structure of a portion of the black community when compared with the city of Chicago and the nation. However, different findings may be revealed if the total black community of Chicago is compared with the same units utilized herein.

An avenue of research is suggested from this analysis of the black community. Further research should seek to incorporate the impact of several social organizations operating (in the city of Chicago and other major central cities) upon the social and occupational mobility of blacks. This thrust is suggested since these organizations propose and work for racial equality in middle and higher income occupations. Such organizations as PUSH, OPERATION BREADBASKET, and the MAYOR's COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT are essentially new organizations working toward full and equitable employment especially directed at black and minority employment within the city of Chicago. It is suggested that an analysis of these organizations and their impact on occupational mobility, in light of the 1970 census, may reveal significant changes which have occurred since 1960.

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PART III

AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF INDUSTRIAL RELOCATIONS FROM
THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO, 1969 THROUGH 1971

by

Charles M. Christian and

Sari J. Bennett

Since World War II, industrial enterprises have been moving away from core areas of the nation's metropolitan regions in increasing numbers (Kain, 1970). In the wake of this exodus, large blocks of once highly productive land have been left to less intensive uses; multistory industrial structures have been left to feed urban blight; and aspiring in-migrants have been left without job opportunities at traditional sites (Mayor's Committee for Economic and Cultural Development, 1966). As a result, burgeoning problems of unemployment, financing the city and its public service functions, weakening of the city's tax base, and problems resulting from the increasing growth of low-income populations within the central city have resulted in both city and federal government giving high priority to their solution. Furthermore, industrial decentralization is making job sites more inaccessible to residents of the black community resulting in lengthening journey-to-work for a population who can least afford it (Kain, 1968; Deskins, 1970; and Wheeler, 1971). Because manufacturing firms are major employers of central city residents and because numerous problems result from the out-migration of industries, this research will describe and analyze the relocation of manufacturing firms and employment opportunities within and from the black community of Chicago.

The black community, as defined in this paper, consists of those postal zip zones¹ which have 30 percent or more black residents² (U.S. Bureau of Census,

¹Postal zip code zones were superimposed over census tracts; and the total black-white populations were computed for all census tracts enclosed to derive a percentage black population for each postal zip code zone.

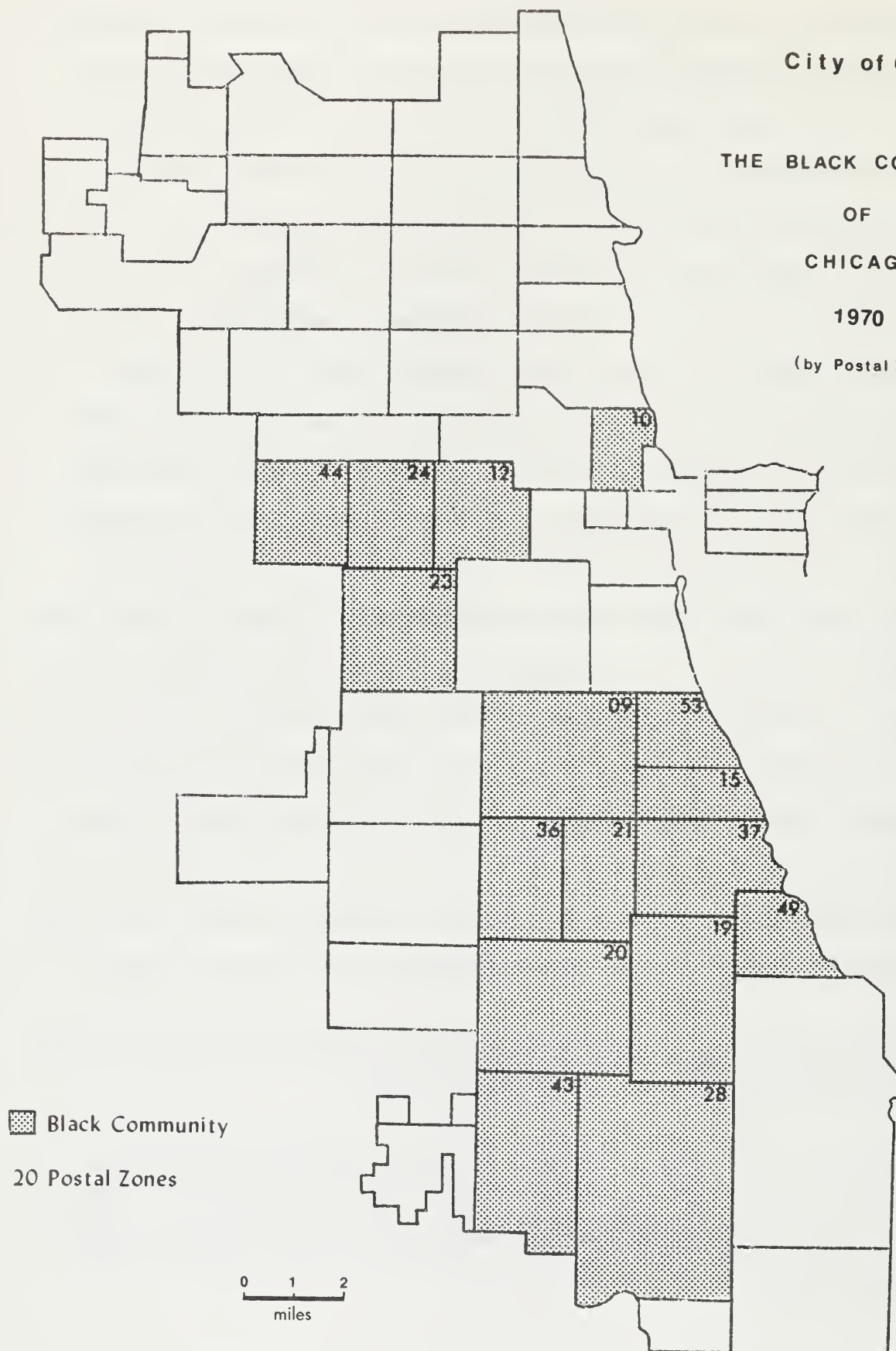
²Postal zones of 30 percent or more black residents were used in defining the black community for the following reasons: 1) When black occupancy within an area attains a level of approximately 30 percent, whites discontinue to seek housing in close physical proximity (Rose, 1970); and 2) Chicago has the highest racial segregation index of any major U.S. metropolitan city. Over 96 percent of the black population in Chicago live in census tracts of 30 percent or more blacks (DeVise, 1972).

City of Chicago

THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO

1970

(by Postal Zones)



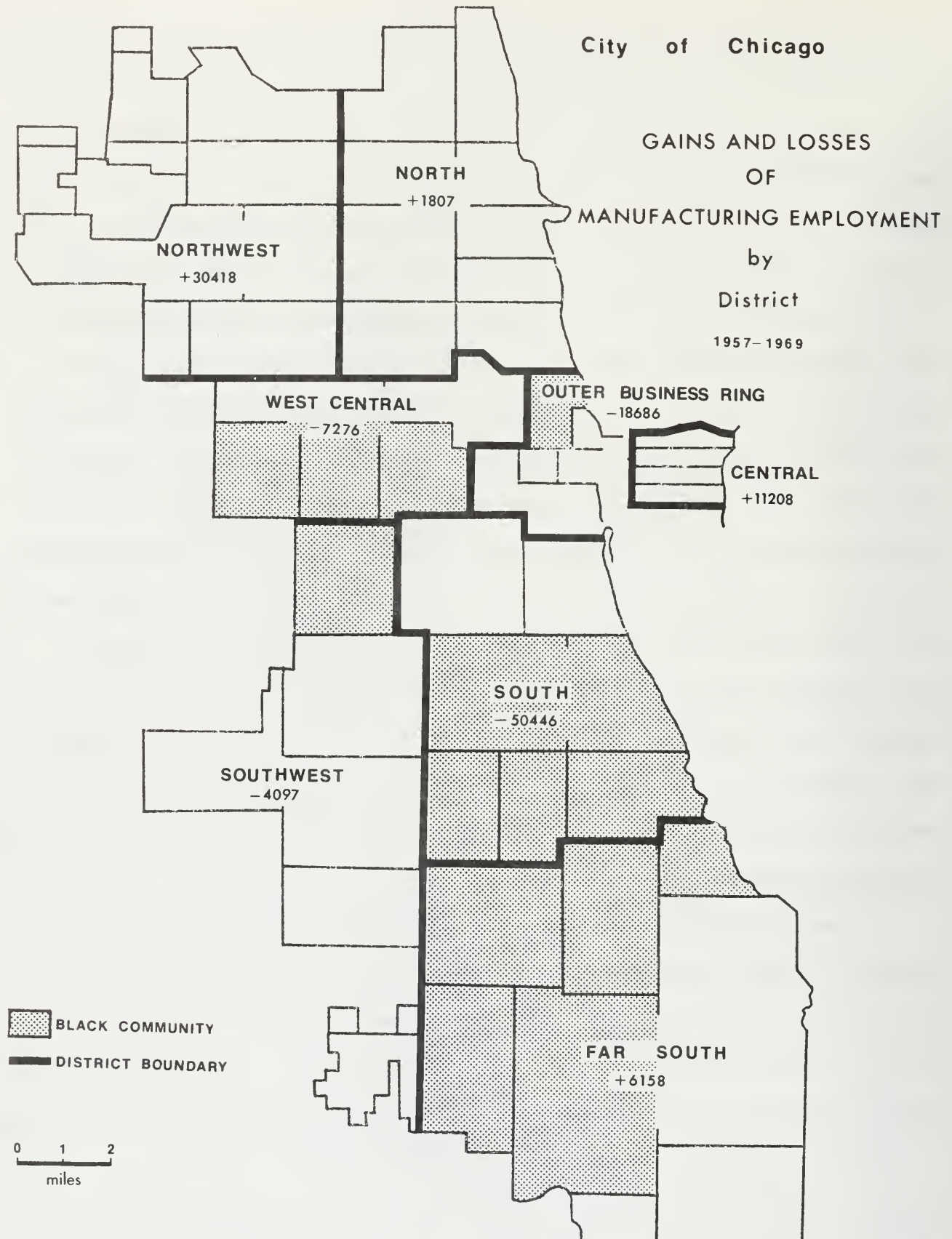
1971) Map 1. Postal zones rather than smaller areal units, such as census tracts, were used because most published listings of Chicago industry are so recorded.³

The city of Chicago has experienced an absolute decline in manufacturing employment (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 1964). From 1947 to 1963, approximately 147,900 net jobs in manufacturing were lost from the central city of Chicago, with the greatest and most consistent decline found within highly concentrated black residential and adjacent areas (Mayor's Committee for Economic and Cultural Development, 1966). The black areas still are losing the major portion of the job opportunities as is substantiated by the reporting of the State of Illinois Department of Labor summarized in Map 2a. According to this report, the areas that suffered the worst losses during the period 1957 through 1969 were: 1) the Outer Business Ring; 2) the South; 3) the West Central; and 4) the Southwest. These areas, with the exception of the Southwest, are clearly predominantly black (Map 2a and 2b). In contrast, areas which gained manufacturing employment during the same period had a small black population. This industrial manufacturing employment trend is probably similar to that of most other major metropolitan areas and the conclusions drawn from this analysis may apply to black communities in other large metropolitan central cities.

Industrial Movement Trends

A questionnaire was constructed and mailed to approximately 2000 industries listed in the 1969 Illinois Manufacturers Directory for postal zones of the black community. An "Address Correction, Postage Guaranteed" stamp was affixed to each envelope to identify industries which had moved. Six hundred and twenty-six questionnaires were returned, of which 73.2 percent (458 industries) indicated a change of address or change in business status, such as closure.

³Postal zones were also considered valid areal units for analysis because they are: 1) sensitive to population density; 2) generally stable; and 3) territorially inclusive (Abler, 1970).



Source: Chicago Area Labor Market Analysis Unit, "Employment Covered Under The Illinois Unemployment Compensation Act: 1957-1969", State of Illinois Department of Labor, 1971.

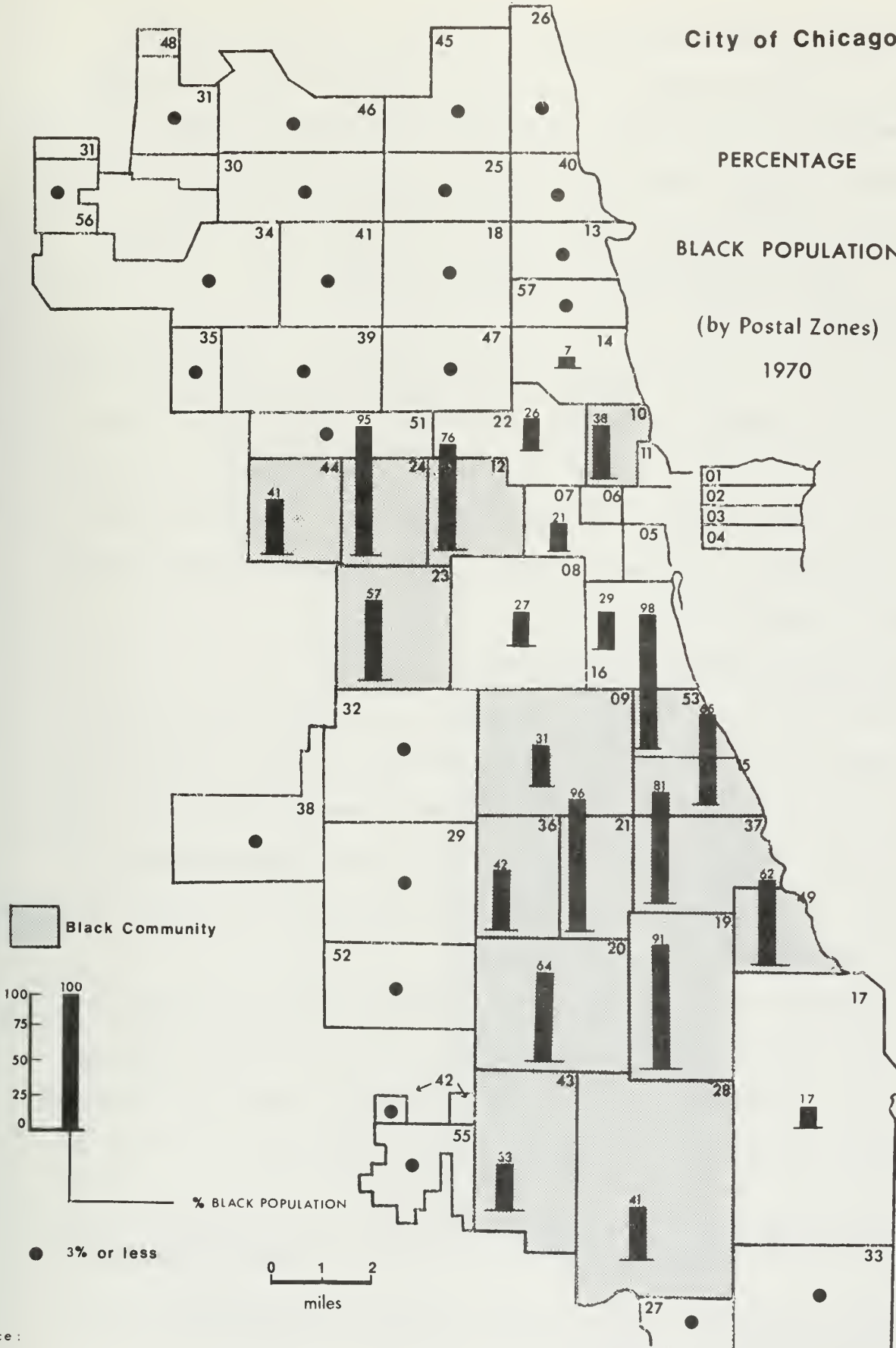
City of Chicago

PERCENTAGE

BLACK POPULATION

(by Postal Zones)

1970



Source: 1970 Bureau of Census: Census of Population and Housing, Chicago and Northwestern Indiana Standard Consolidated Area, Reproduced by Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, 1970

Industries which had moved or changed status were classified into six categories: 1) In-Zone movements (i.e., within the same Zip zone); 2) Between-Zone movements within the black area; 3) Between-Zone movements to zones outside the black area; 4) Movements to suburbs and other areas within the state; 5) Out-of-State; and 6) Unclassified (movements based on postal departments' responses of "moved, address unknown, or out-of-business").

In-Zone Movements

In-zone movements composed almost two percent (9) of the industrial movements affecting the black community. Most of these movements within the same zone were found on the outer margin of the black area, most particularly in zones 20 and 28. Because these movements involved short distances, it is hypothesized that they are responses to the need for better site facilities and space, while maintaining labor and market advantages.

Between-Zone Movements Within the Black Area

Between-zone movements within the black area composed 5.6 percent (26) of the total movements (Map 3). These movements appeared to have no specific pattern either in direction or distance. In general, a greater proportion of these movements occurred in the southern part of the black area. Interestingly, zone 43 received all of its relocated industries from the contiguous zones of 20 and 28. These movements were short distance moves.

These industrial relocations involved a movement of 308 job opportunities and an estimated capitalization⁴ of \$1.4 million. Zone 43 clearly received the bulk of each--22 percent of the job opportunities and 22 percent of the estimated capitalization relocating between zones within the black area.⁵

⁴Capitalization is the estimated financial appraisal of a firm's capital outlay. This appraisal was estimated by each firm entered in the Illinois Manufacturers Directory.

⁵Employment and capitalization figures were calculated from data listed in the 1969 Illinois Manufacturers Directory.

Map 3

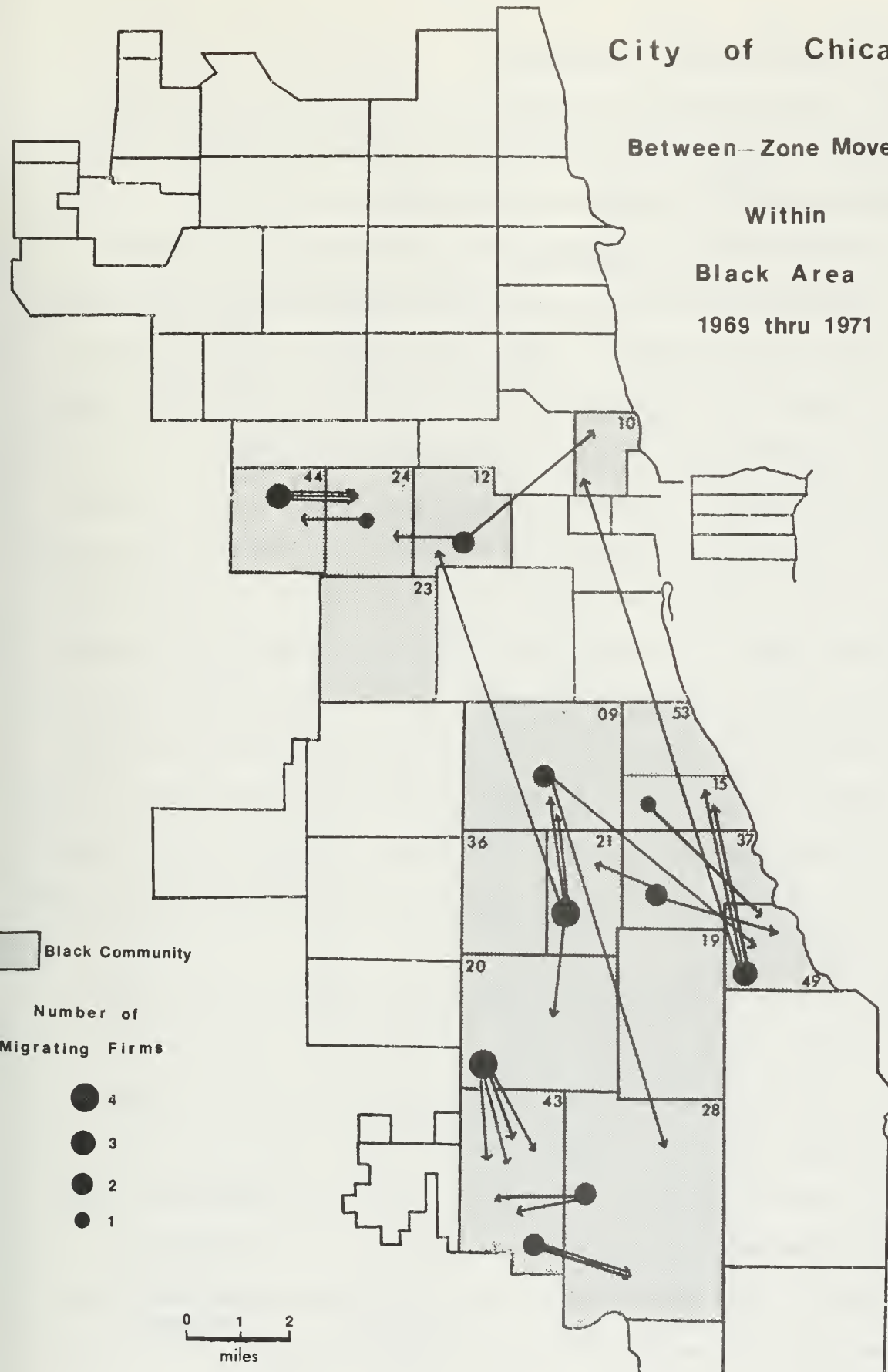
City of Chicago

Between-Zone Movements

Within

Black Area

1969 thru 1971



Between-Zone Movements Outside the Black Area

Movements to sites in zones outside the black area composed 15.8 percent (71) of all moves. These relocations involved the movement of 1705 job opportunities and approximately \$8.4 million in capitalization.

Destinations for these relocated industries were divided into two general categories: 1) relocations near or to the CBD; and 2) relocations to the northern postal Zip zones of the city (Map 4). Twenty-three of these relocations near or to the CBD were directed to zones 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 16. Origin zones for these relocated firms were primarily zones 20, 23, and 24.

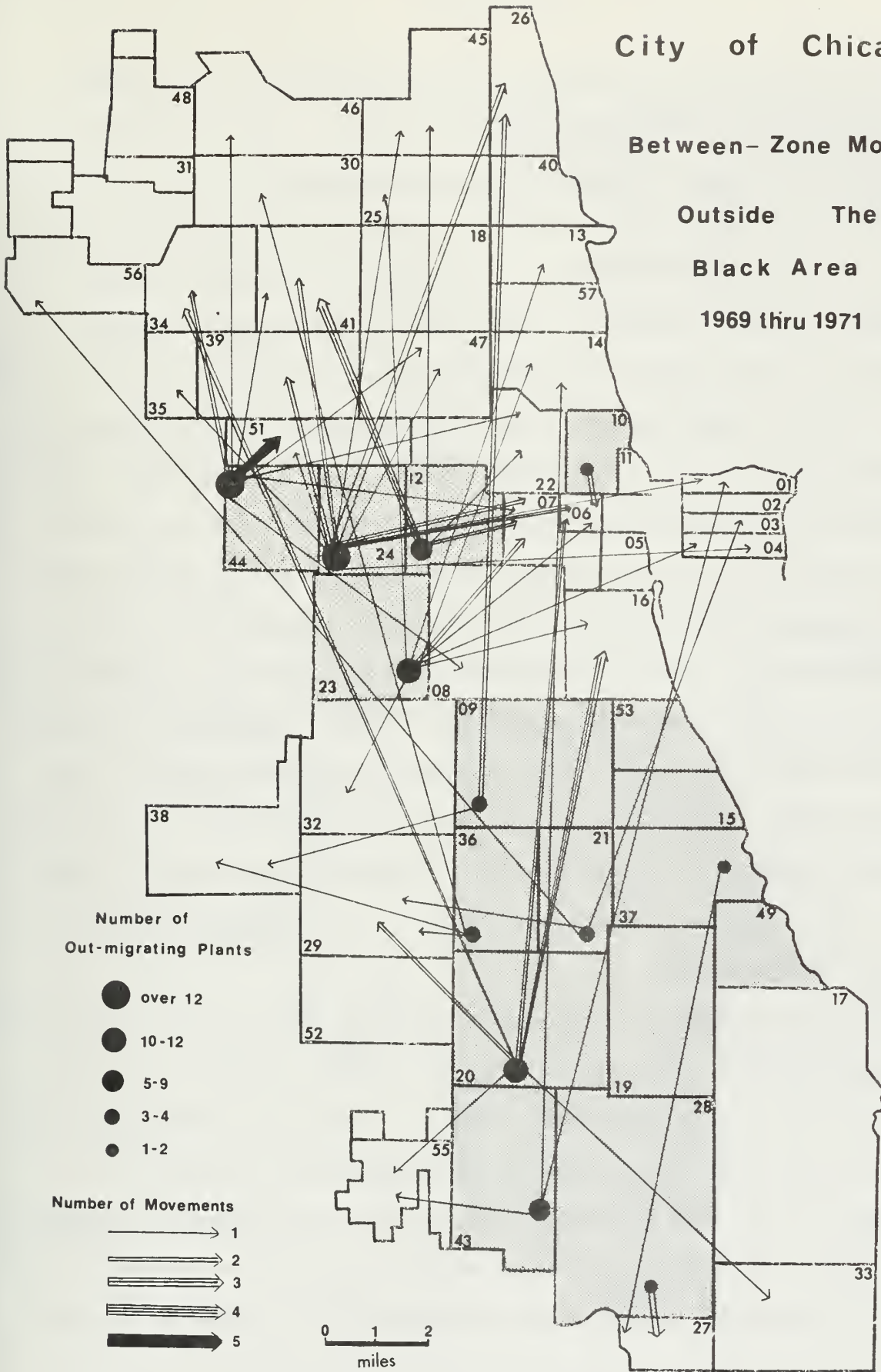
Outer zones 41, 51, 26, and 34 made up the second, large category of industrial relocation destinations. These zones received twenty industrial relocations. Origin areas of these movements were mostly located in zones 12, 24, and 44 which supplied sixteen of these relocating industries. Few industrial firms from the southern portion of the black area relocated in the northern postal Zip zones of the city. Further, of the twenty-eight firms which relocated from the southern zones of the black area, only six chose new locations in northern Zip zones, while the remaining twenty-two firms from the western zones of the black area relocated almost totally in northern zones and the CBD zones, with only two firms relocating in southern zones.

On the basis of these findings, it is observed that between-zone industrial relocations to zones outside the black area tend not only to be short distance movements, but such movements also indicate some directional biases, as southern firms do not generally move to northern zones and western firms show no tendency toward moving to southern zones within the city. These hypotheses suggest that a firm's distance and direction biases are the results of the entrepreneur's information field, which decreases with distance outward and varies with direction. In other words, the entrepreneur's site selection decision is influenced

City of Chicago

Between-Zone Movements

Outside The
Black Area
1969 thru 1971



by a more complete knowledge of adjacent zones rather than by more incomplete knowledge of more distant zones within the city.

Movements to the Suburbs and to Other Cities Within the State

Movements to the suburbs and to other cities within the state were 23 percent (105) of all movements, of which 93.3 percent were to suburban locations. These suburban relocations involved a loss of 3379 job opportunities from the black community of Chicago and an estimated capitalization of \$17.8 million.

Table 1 and Map 5 summarize the pattern of relocation to suburban Chicago. Outward movements were mainly to the western suburbs. This trend does not coincide with observations by Reinemann (1960) who analyzed industrial development and movement trends for the entire Chicago SMA from 1947 to 1954. He concluded, using similar movement classifications, that the major direction of all industrial relocations and new industrial development had been toward the northern and northwestern suburbs immediately adjacent to Chicago. However, in the present analysis of the relocations from the black community, the western suburbs, most particularly Oak Park and Franklin Park, received the highest number of industries. The latter two received about 15 percent of all industrial relocations from the black area. A distance bias is again noted as most firms relocated in suburbs adjacent to the city boundary.

Oak Park received seven of the suburban relocations, four of which were from the adjacent zone 44. The remaining two moves also had their origin in the western portion of the black area, zones 12 and 24. These relocations to Oak Park involved 123 job opportunities an estimated capitalization of more than \$0.5 million. Franklin Park, also a western suburb, received seven industrial relocations. It is shown that three of the seven moves originated in the proximate zone 44, and four relocations originated in zones 12 and 24, located in the adjacent western portion of the black area. Approximately 743 job opportunities and

INDUSTRIAL RELOCATIONS TO CHICAGO SUBURBS FROM THE BLACK AREA

1969 THRU 1971

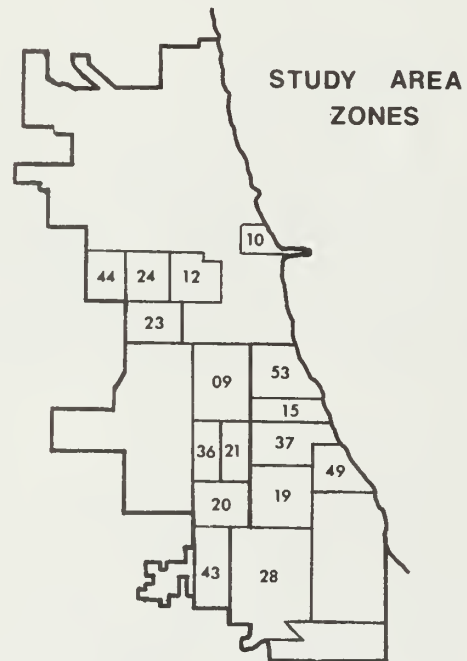
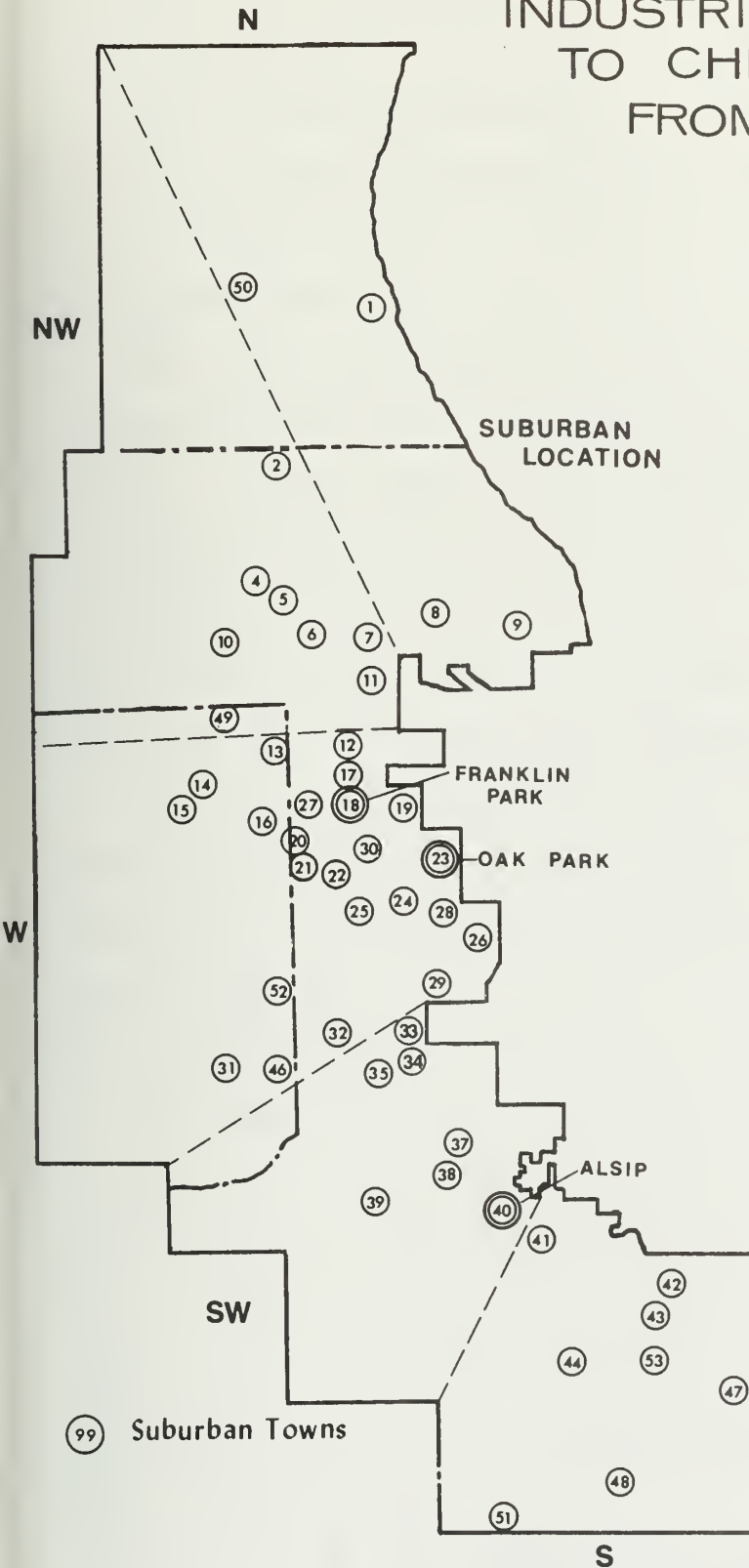


TABLE 1

INDUSTRIAL RELOCATIONS TO THE SUBURBS
FROM THE BLACK AREA OF CHICAGO
1969-1971

-72-

Map No.	WEST SUBURBS	No. of Relocations	Map No.	SOUTHWEST Relocations		Map No.	SOUTH Relocations		Map No.	NORTHWEST Relocations		Map No.	NORTH Relocations	
				SUBURBS	No. of		SUBURBS	No. of		SUBURBS	No. of		SUBURBS	No. of
18	Franklin Park	7	40	Alsip	10	44	Hazelcrest	3	10	Elk Grove Vil.	4	9	Skokie	2
23	Oak Park	7	38	Chicago Ridge	2	48	S. Chicago Ht	3	7	Des Plaines	2	8	Porton Grove	1
26	Cicero	4	35	Justice	1	51	Park Forest	2	11	Park Ridge	2	1	Lake Forest	1
16	Elmhurst	3	33	LaGrange	1	41	Blue Island	1	5	Arlington Hts.	1	50	Mundelein	1
52	Oak Brook	3	37	Oaklawn	1	42	Dolton	1	2	Parrington	1			
22	Bellwood	3	39	Palos Hills	1	53	Clenwood	1	6	Mt. Prospect	1			
31	Downers Grove	2	34	Summit	1	47	Lansing	1	4	Palatine	1			
46	Hinsdale	2				43	S. Holland	1						
27	Northlake	2												
19	River Forest	2												
12	Rosemont	2												
14	Addison	2												
20	Berkeley	1												
28	Berwyn	1												
25	Broadview	1												
13	Bensenville	1												
32	Countryside	1												
24	Forest Park	1												
21	Hillside	1												
15	Lombard	1												
30	Nelrose Park	1												
49	Roselle	1												
17	Schiller Park	1												
29	Lyons	1												
TOTALS		51			17			13			12			5
Combined Totals		98												

Sources: Based on responses to survey questionnaire mailed to Chicago industries located within the Black Community.
 Directional location of suburbs based on those used in Bureau of Unemployment Security, Department of Labor,
 State of Illinois, 1972.

a capitalization of \$1.55 million were relocated from the black area to Franklin Park. It is also noted that Alsip, a southwestern suburb, received 9.5 percent (10) of the total suburban movements. Total employment opportunities moving to Alsip were 241 and the estimated capitalization was \$1.15 million. Four of these moves to Alsip were from zones 20, 28, and 43, zones within the southern portion of the black area.

The ninety-eight suburban relocations involved fifty suburbs within the Chicago metropolitan area. The Chicago Department of Development and Planning indicated that the factors which make the suburbs more desirable for industrial location than many central city locations are: 1) quality and quantity of land necessary for straight-line production processes; 2) increasing use of trucks and the expressway system; and 3) a growing number of skilled employees moving to the suburbs (City of Chicago Department of Development and Planning, 1968).

Other cities in the state to receive relocated industries were Joliet, Peoria, Fox River Grove, Benton, Champaign, and Urbana. These movements represented a loss of 478 job opportunities and a capitalization of approximately \$0.8 million from the black area.

Out-of-State Movements

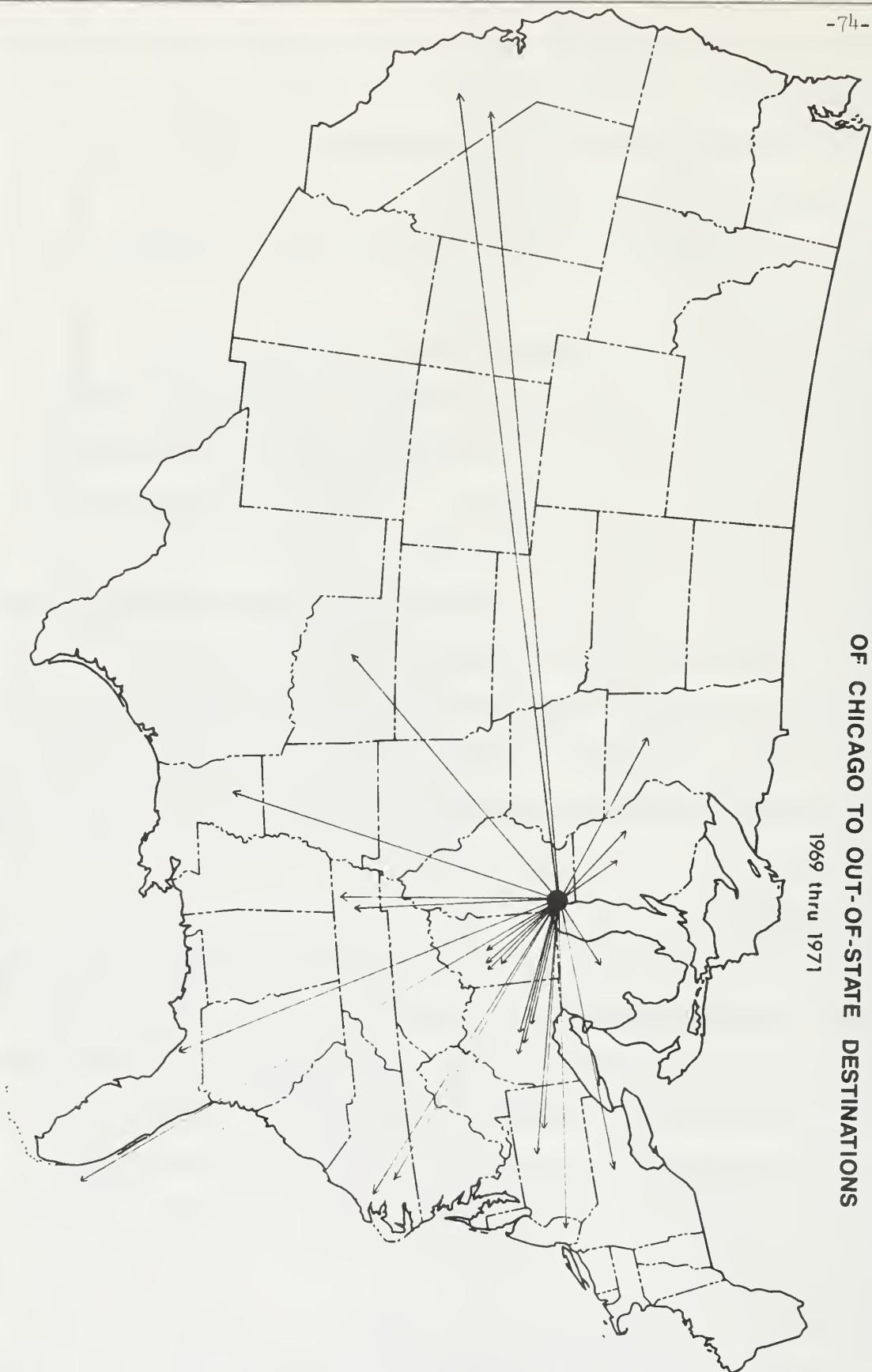
Approximately six percent (26) of the total industrial movements relocated from the black area of Chicago to out-of-state locations from 1969 through 1971 (Map 6). A total of 1078 job opportunities and an approximate capitalization of \$5.1 million were lost from the city, and more particularly from the black community. Over half (57 percent) of these industrial relocations were to the northeastern states. One third relocated within two neighboring states--Indiana and Ohio, each receiving four relocated firms.

Ohio received 389 job opportunities, while Indiana received only fifteen. Likewise, the estimated capitalization in relocating to Ohio from the black community

Map 6

INDUSTRIAL RELOCATIONS FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO TO OUT-OF-STATE DESTINATIONS

1969 thru 1971



of Chicago was \$1.66 million, and for Indiana, \$0.25 million. Ohio received three industries from zone 9 and one from zone 38, while the origin zones for industries moving to Indiana were 28, 20, and 43. These moves tend to reaffirm the pattern noted for in-state movements, i.e., that industries tend to move short distances to new locations.

Two relocations were made to each of these states: California, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Wisconsin; and one relocation each to Florida, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, and the Virgin Islands.

Unclassified Movements

The existence of many unclassified movements (defined on the basis of post office responses of "moved, address unknown, or out-of-business") tend to reinforce many of the notions presented earlier, specifically the perceived undesirability of the black community for industry. Of the 458 movements, approximately 48 percent (221) were unclassified. Certain zones of the black area tended to have predominant numbers of unclassified movements--zones 12, 9, 44, 24, and 23 (Map 7). These zones were characterized as zones of rapid transition from white to black population (Mid-Chicago Economic Development Study, 1966), and presently have a relatively high percentage black residential population concentration (Map 2b).

The number of unclassified movements in particular zones further indicates that industries are finding it more difficult to maintain their locations in the black community. Zones where riots and fires followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in April 1968 show some evidence of this difficulty (Chicago Tribune, 1968). It is suggested that these incidents have increased the undesirability of these specific zones (zones 12, 9, 44, 24, and 23), and have also created an unfavorable image of other zones within the black community as sites

City of Chicago

INDUSTRIAL RELOCATIONS

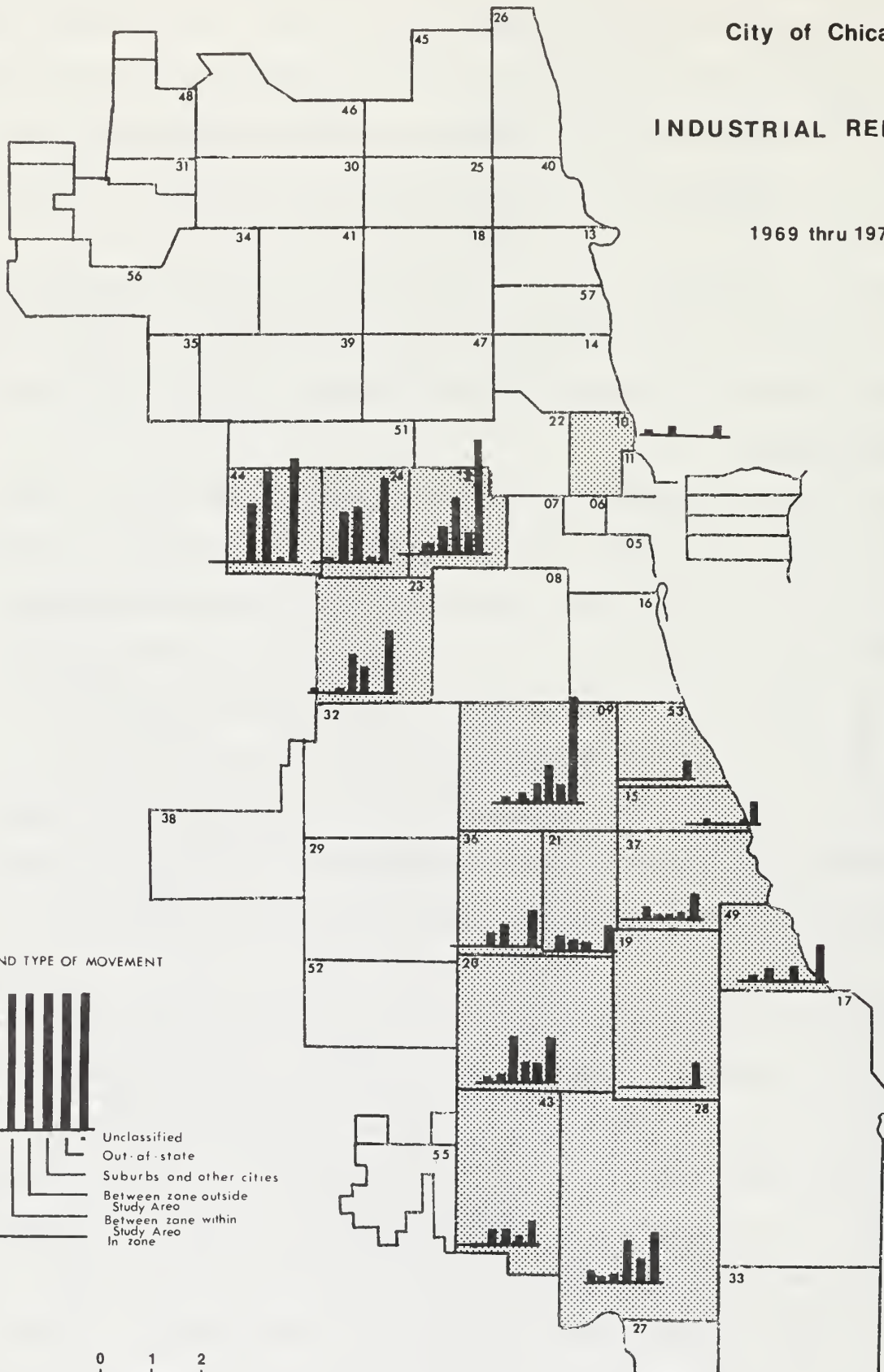
1969 thru 1971

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOVEMENT



- Unclassified
- Out-of-state
- Suburbs and other cities
- Between zone outside Study Area
- Between zone within Study Area
- In zone

0 1 2
miles



for industrial relocations. Because of insufficient data concerning these unclassified movements, it is impossible to determine the migration of job opportunities or estimated capitalization loss from the black community.

Types of Relocating Industries

Industrial relocations, by SIC classification, appear to be most generally dominated by fabricated metals, wholesaling, chemicals, and printing and publishing. Because of insufficient and unavailable data representing the type of industry existing within each of the zones of the black area, it is impossible to make clear-cut inferences about potential types of movers. However, from the industrial relocation matrix (Table 2) some generalizations can be made about the type of industries and their relocation destinations.

In general, the same types of industries were found to be moving, regardless of destination; however, some variations have occurred. Six of the nine in-zone movements involved fabricated metals, wholesaling, and printing and publishing, chemicals, and wholesaling. Essentially, these movements were similar to in-zone movements as both are suggested to be responses to changes in markets within the city.

The types of industries relocating to sites outside the black community were identical to those mentioned above, with the addition of electrical machinery and food products. Five categories (fabricated metals, printing and publishing, wholesaling, electrical machinery, and food products) encompassed over 54 percent (39) of the seventy-one movements to sites outside the black area. Another 14 percent (ten relocations) was made up of rubber products and primary metals.

Fabricated metals and wholesaling activities made up 37.1 percent of the total suburban moves. Other industries represented in this suburban out-flow of industry from the black area were: printing and publishing, nonelectrical machinery and electrical machinery.

TABLE 2
INDUSTRIAL RELOCATIONS
by
(Type of Movement and SIC Classification)

Type of Movement	SIC	34	50	28	27	20	33	36	72	39	24	30	35	38	25	23	76	26	32	42	17	29	22	31	37	47	70	82	TOTALS
In-Zone		2	2	1	2			1														1							9
Between-Zone Within Black Area		1	4	8	8		1	2					1		1														26
Between-Zone Outside Study Area		13	7	2	7	6	4	6	3	4	2	6	1	2	2				3	1						2			71
Suburban and Other Areas in the State		23	16	4	7	3	6	7	2		2	2	7	3	1	4		3	2	5	1	3	1	2	1				105
Out of State		5	3	1	1	2		2		2				2	3	1	1		1		1								26
Unclassified		41	31	21	9	18	4	0	12	9	9	5	4	6	5	5	8	5	2	2	2		1	1	1		2		221
TOTAL*		85	63	37	34	29	25	24	17	15	13	13	13	13	12	10	9	8	8	8	4	4	3	3	2	2	2		458

Source: Computed by authors. *Totals are arranged in order of magnitude.

The type of industry seeking out-of-state locations were fabricated metals (18.5 percent); wholesaling (14 percent); chemicals (9.5 percent); and food products (8.1 percent).

Overall, fabricated metals, wholesaling, chemicals, and printing and publishing appeared to dominate the types of industries relocating within and from the black community. In a previous study of industrial movements it was found that fabricated metals, electrical and nonelectrical machinery displayed the highest number of industrial relocations from the city during the period 1947-1957 (Chicago Department of City Planning, 1961). The present analysis suggests that this trend is continuing and that industrial movements from the black community are representative of the industrial movements from the entire city of Chicago.

Conclusions

Industry and manufacturing employment opportunities are moving out of the black community in great numbers. Although industrial movements within and from Chicago have been many, industrial firms have avoided relocations within the zones of high black population, seeming to prefer other zones within the city. The western and southwestern zones of the black community have been the prime sources of these relocating industries. It is suggested that this high proportion of industry and employment losses from the western and southwestern zones were directly influenced by the riots and fires of 1968 which damaged and destroyed numerous industrial and commercial buildings in these zones. This hypothesized effect is reinforced by the high number of unclassified industries found in zones most affected by the 1968 incidents.

It is also suggested that many of the movements from other zones of the black community are the result of the entrepreneur's image of potential racial disruptions in areas of high black population concentration, as well as the negative forces

exerted upon industry by urban blight, vacant buildings, traffic congestion, inaccessibility to transport arterials, high taxes, and the deterioration of the black community itself.

These findings also show that industrial moves are characterized by a distance and directional bias, possibly attributed to the employer's information field. Movements within the city tend to favor a northward and CBD direction.

Finally, approximately 7000 job opportunities and millions of dollars of capitalization have been lost from the black community as a result of this small number of industrial movements during the period 1969 through 1971. This research has been exploratory; however, a more detailed and complete analysis would likely reveal a larger number of industrial relocations, a larger number of job opportunities and a greatly increased capitalization lost from the black community of Chicago. Such an analysis would guide city planners and interested social scientists toward the development of comprehensive plans for the solution of numerous urban problems resulting from industrial decentralization.

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